THE CHRISTIANISATION OF THE GOA ISLANDS

1510-1567

BY

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PREFACE

THIS book was originally presented as a thesis seven years ago in the Faculty of Church History of the Gregorian University at Rome. But the complexity of the issues involved required much further study before I could come to conclusions with some degree of certainty. The late Mr. Pedro Correia-Afonso, in his last illness and almost on his death-bed, went painstakingly through my manuscript when it was in the last stages of preparation. His criticism helped me immensely to reduce the problems raised in the course of this work to their due proportions. For truth, as Hilaire Belloc once finely said, is a matter of proportion. I must add, however, that I alone am responsible for the opinions expressed in this book.

My purpose in taking up this theme was to test, with the aid of contemporary documents, the traditions current in Goan families that under early Portuguese rule their people either abandoned Goa because of persecution or helplessly became Christians. Now traditions often have their source in some historical truth, only that they embody the truth in the language of popular fancy. Of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq of Delhi (1325-1351), for instance, we know that he indulged in some extravagant military schemes. Curiously enough Fernao Nunes, the sixteenth century Portuguese visitor to Vijayanagar, found among the Hindus there a story that Muhammad once started out with an army in pursuit of the sun because its rays had dared to invade the privacy of his dressing room. This illustrates how traditions enshrine a measure of truth in the language of poetic exaggeration.

Similarly there happens to be a story current in Goan Christian homes that in the early days Portuguese soldiers filled wax dolls with wine, cut off their heads and quaffed the wine. The people, thinking that they drank human blood, took fright and became Christians. The story suggests that, if things actually happened that way, there was an element of make-believe about it, and that the people wanted to seem to be frightened. Chapter V may help us to understand this story.

We are living through the Second Vatican Council, which has expressed regret for the Catholic Church's mistakes resulting in the nature of the Church being misunderstood by others. There will be occasion in the course of this book to say that the ideas held by the evangelists of the Goa Islands led to some unintentional injustices. But it is necessary to remember all the while that those ideas were honestly maintained at the time, so much so that we shall see even the critics of the evangelists opposing them mostly from secular and not moral considerations. Nevertheless the Christian doctrine that a person who accepts baptism must do so freely and sincerely was itself never in doubt. If today we can say that some of the ideas of the evangelists resulted in injustices, it is because we have benefited from subsequent development of social thought, which in turn is a fruit of the ideal for which the evangelists stood, namely the ideal of free and fraternal communication between men.

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Bombay, Easter Day 1965.

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ABBREVIATIONS

THE references are either to the compilation or edition of the author's work mentioned in the Bibliography. If it is the latter, the title itself is indicated only when more than one occurs under the name. For some of the former the following abbreviations have been employed:

SOURCES: DOCUMENTS

ACE	=	Assentos do Conselho de Estado.
APO	=	Archivo Portuguez Oriental.
BIVG	=	Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama.
BULL.	=	Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae.
DI	=	Documenta Indica.
DUP	=	Documentaçao Ultramarina Portuguesa.
EX	=	Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii.
SR	=	Documentaçao para ..... ed. Silva Rego.
Gonçalves I, II	=	Coimbra ed.
— IX, X	=	MS.

GENERAL

CSEL	=	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
ML	=	Patrologiae Cursus, series prima latina, ed. Migne.

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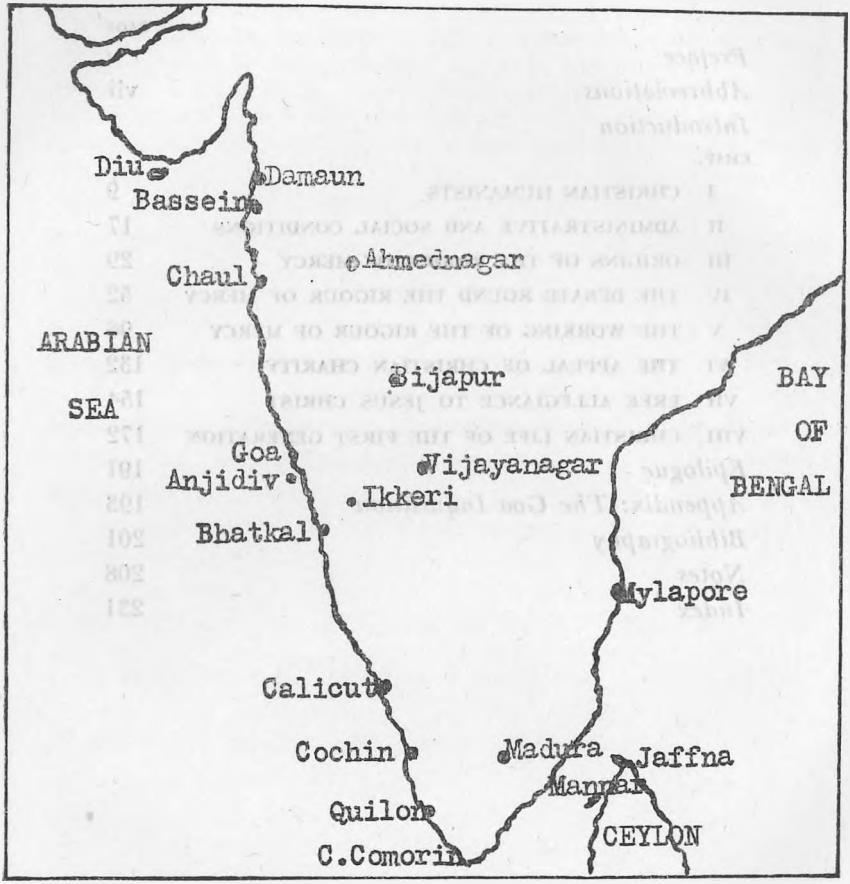

India's Coastline

INTRODUCTION

THE christianisation of Goa has attracted the attention of students of Christian evangelisation, as well as of students of Portuguese rule in India. Now since the process was initiated in the Goa Islands, whatever writers have to say on the subject is in the first place applicable to the Islands.

The early Jesuit historians, Teixeira, Valignano, Gonçalves, and Souza, felt no hesitation about approving of what was done. Manuel Teixeira came out to India in 1551 at the early age of fifteen, and was for the most part an eye-witness of what happened in the Islands during the crucial years 1557-62. He collaborated in Valignano's work, and though he wrote no independent history of how the Islands became Christian, we know his mind from his letters. Alessandro Valignano came out to the East in 1574 as Visitor or personal delegate of the head of the Jesuit Order, with authority to inquire into the affairs of his brethren. Though he availed himself of Teixeira, his history of the Jesuits in the East, composed in the years 1580-83, professes to set down only what he has, after investigation, found to be true. And, indeed, his account generally agrees with the contemporary Jesuit letters. Sebastiam Gonçalves came out in 1593, and from 1602 lived continuously in Goa till his death in 1619. The first part of his history, which deals with our period and comprises 10 books, was ready by 1614. Francisco de Souza was in Goa in the latter half of the seventeenth century and completed his work in 1697.

The Dominican, Joao dos Santos, and the Franciscan, Paulo da Trindade, were of the same mind as the Jesuits. The former was in Goa in the first decades of the seventeenth century, dying there in 1622. The latter, too, spent many years in Goa in the first half of the seventeenth century and died there in 1651.

This view was still shared by Maximilian Müllbauer, the mid-nineteenth century historian of Catholic evangelisation in the East, on whom K. S. Latourette has drawn for his history of the spread of Christianity.[1]

But the twentieth century ushered in a change which found expression in the more critical attitude of Josef Schmidlin, Professor of Missiology at the University of Münster. He frankly characterised the methods used as artificial, involving some degree of pressure and recalling the Middle Ages with their state support of evangelisation.[2] More recently, two other Catholic historians, Johannes Beckmann, S.M.B., and Josef Wicki, S.J., have also expressed themselves critically though less severely than Schmidlin. The former somewhat guardedly says that "the baptisms themselves did not take place under duress properly so called,"[3] while the latter explains that it was an age when "freedom was in several respects differently understood."[4]

In Goa itself, both in Hindu and Christian homes, there has existed a vague tradition about some sort of fear and compulsion. Indeed, some of the laws as substantially reported by Valignano and the other early historians, and still more as textually published in the last century by Joaquin Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, appear to lend support to this tradition, and, therefore, to the more critical attitude of recent historians.

Cunha Rivara's publication has been freely availed of by Anant K. Priolkar, whose work, *The Goa Inquisition*, is the latest on the subject. The work is largely a translation or paraphrase, in places incorrect, of the laws. But can such a procedure give us a correct idea of what happened? We know, for instance, that in A.D. 346 the Roman Emperor Constantius issued a decree closing down the temples of the old gods and declaring it a capital offence to worship them; the decree was renewed in A.D. 353 and A.D. 356. Yet, after a careful study of the subject, a French scholar could say that the decree was only enforced where attachment to the old gods had already grown weak, and that whereas we have instances of acquittal of persons who disregarded the decree, we have not a single instance of actual death penalty.[5] In order, therefore, to understand what happened in Goa one has to know what the people's dispositions were and how the laws were enforced. And that is what this study sets out to do.

This task has been made possible by the researches of the Rev. Antonio da Silva Rego and Josef Wicki, S.J. The former has published documents existing in various Portuguese archives,

while the latter has brought out a critical edition mostly of the documents in the Jesuit archives at Rome. Most of them are annual reports or letters sent by the Jesuits of Goa to Europe for publication, in the belief that readers would find them edifying. But there are also confidential letters of theirs to colleagues or Superiors, explaining what was done and mentioning their difficulties with secular and ecclesiastical authorities. It is regrettable that there is little strictly contemporary material from Dominican and Franciscan sources. As their later historians point out, the early Dominicans and Franciscans were concerned more with doing than with recording and making known their work.[6]

The question now arises as to how far these public and private Jesuit letters are reliable. And the answer is that they can be checked. What they tell us of the people's disposition and way of thinking can be verified by referring to Indian sources, a task rendered easy by P. V. Kane's monumental *History of Dharmasastra*. We can verify, too, their accounts of how people became Christians; for we have frank contemporary criticisms from eye-witnesses or persons who got their information from eye-witnesses. Moreover, not seldom the eye-witnesses returned to Europe and there checked the public accounts and gave their own version. If, then, on the one hand, the critics generally adduce the same type of facts as those mentioned in the Jesuit explanation, and if, on the other hand, they do not prove that any disreputable type of action that finds no mention in that explanation was in fact done as a matter of policy, then, the general reliability of the explanation can be accepted.

But there is yet a further difficulty; for the annual letters mostly give select instances of how a few prominent individuals or some groups became Christians. Hence, it might at first sight seem difficult to try and reconstruct from them a general picture of what happened. But here the private Jesuit letters as well as the criticisms come to our help; for, as a rule, they state from different points of view the policy that was followed, without going into particulars.

Where the contemporary letters differ from later authors who relied on traditions that had in the meantime grown up, the former have been preferred. The following examples will make clear the reason why.

In 1558 the forces of Hussain Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar (1553-65) attacked the Portuguese position of Chaul, just to the south of Bombay. According to the Jesuit annual letter of that year, they occupied a hill where a cross had been erected, without, however, doing it any irreverence, a thing which seemed somewhat of a mystery. But by the end of the century, tradition had converted the event into a miracle; for the chronicler, Diogo de Couto, tells us that the Muslims tried to hew down the cross but the axes made no impression on the wood, while an elephant which tugged with all its might at the cords attached to the cross was equally unsuccessful. Gonçalves, too, adopted this tradition.[7] A student will here unhesitatingly prefer the sober account of 1558.

But the next example might make one pause a little. In explaining how the temples of a village in Salsette came to be demolished in 1565, Gonçalves says that a Jesuit Brother went to snatch a Hindu orphan from its relatives in order to bring it up as a Christian, according to the law then in vogue; the enraged relatives thereupon attacked him; the Viceroy next ordered an inquiry and decreed the destruction of the temples. However, Souza writing nearly a century later states that the Brother went there just to draw up a list of the neophytes, and that the attack was primarily directed against his companion, a fervent native Christian, who is even said to have been actually killed.[8] Now the annual letter of 1565 describes the incident as follows: "As a Brother who resides at the church of the fort [of Rachol] went to a certain village to draw up a list of the Christians, the Gentiles of the place came towards him with weapons and loud shouts; at that, he took refuge in the house of an influential Christian, who, with others, prevented them from entering, although they attempted to do so. All the same, they beat a catechumen whom he had taken along with him. When news of this reached the Captain of the place, he immediately prepared to go to the Brother's rescue; but in the meantime he arrived, having escaped without the Gentiles noticing it. His Excellency the Viceroy, after ascertaining the truth of the matter through witnesses, ordered the same Captain to set the temples of the village on fire. This he did on a certain night, the priest [of Rachol] and the Brother who had suffered the injury going along with him. Seven temples of the

place were thus burnt, and it was at the same time proclaimed that they were being burnt because of the attack on the Brother and that none should dare to rebuild them under pain of death and confiscation of property." [9]

We see, then, that by Souza's time a tradition had grown up that a Christian had been killed, whereas the contemporary source tells us that he had been just beaten. There will be no difficulty in accepting the contemporary version, specially since the judicial proclamation mentioned no death, a circumstance which was not likely to have been omitted. On the other hand, we find Souza closer to the contemporary source than Gonçalves with regard to the cause of the trouble. Here, too, the following consideration favours the contemporary account. The law prescribed that an orphan should be taken over by a magistrate's order. If the Brother had acted illegally by venturing on his own it would have appeared at the inquiry, and the writer of the annual letter would know that, meant as it was for publication, the critics would not let the omission go unchallenged.[10]

There is, again, in Salsette a local tradition that in 1560 a Jesuit demolished a temple at Cortalim and set up a cross in its stead; further, that in 1564 another Jesuit attempted to baptise a dying Hindu by force in the same village, but was repulsed by the people, who in their rage killed the priest's servant and burnt a newly erected church, all their temples being thereupon demolished in reprisal.[11]

On the other hand, the Jesuit annual letter of 1560 from Salsette mentions no temple. The writer must have known that since such an action on private initiative was considered illegal and since the controversy around the christianisation of the Goa Islands was then at its height, the omission would not have escaped the critics. The letter makes no express mention of Cortalim, but narrates the following episode: "On the Father's entering a certain village where the people are bellicose and always go about armed, a Brahmin came forward to present him a handful of betel. He then told the interpreter that he desired to become a Christian. The Father next went to the house of a Christian village elder, but found neither him nor any other Christian; for they had all taken refuge in a thicket. He sent for them. They sent back word asking for

an assurance that he would do them no harm. He gave it. They came to him with their weapons and brought other armed people along. As they threw themselves at his feet he raised them up and heartily greeted them, giving them every sign of love and requesting them to go to church on Sundays. They said they would; since a Hindu went a hundred leagues to visit a shrine, how would they not go to church seeing that it was just three leagues away from their village? The Father passed the night in the village, being guarded the whole night by eight men whom he had taken along." [12] This might have been Cortalim, since its distance from Rachol, which appears to have had the only church in Salsette at the time, is about the same as that of the village in our narrative.[13]

The Jesuit version of the event of 1564 we find in the annual letter of that year. Once again, the village is not mentioned, but later historians identify it as Cortalim. "Father Pedro Colaço," we read, "who resides at Rachol, set out in the company of a few others to visit the Christians in the villages. And while visiting an influential Hindu Brahmin who was at death's door, thinking that he would become a Christian he sent out the minister of his religion whom he had by his side to help him to die; and he did this in order that he might not come in the man's way. When the Hindus of the village saw him coming out, they raised a hue and cry that the Father was going to make the Brahmin a Christian by force and sallied forth with bows and arrows. Finally, such was the hail of arrows which rained on the Father and his companions that they found it necessary to withdraw to the fort [Rachol] with great speed. Later, as the beadle of the Christians, all innocent of what had happened, passed through the village of these Brahmins, they killed him. Next, to escape the consequences, they set fire that night to an old temple and then sent a long list of charges to Goa, accusing the Father: namely, that he was about to make that Brahmin a Christian by force, that he launched night attacks, that he was an incendiary, and, chiefly, that he had broken a tulsi plant, to which they pay sacred honours, and other accusations of the kind." The Viceroy sent the Chief Justice to hold an inquiry on the spot. It was proved that they had killed the beadle, who had had nothing to do with the earlier incident; moreover, they themselves admitted

that they would have killed the priest if he had not escaped. Accordingly, all the temples of the village were ordered to be burnt.[14]

If the local tradition were now compared with the Jesuit version, it will be found that the presence and watchfulness of critics, which favoured the Jesuit version of 1565, favours it here too. Again, it was only in 1566 that the first church, dedicated to SS. Philip and James, was erected at Cortalim on the site of the temple of Mangesh; hence, no church could have been burnt in 1564.[15] And what is more, if the account of 1560 really refers to Cortalim, then the dying Brahmin of 1564 might well have been the one who had spontaneously come forward on the earlier occasion. And even if it were not so, the circumstance that the Jesuit thought he might become a Christian supposes some such antecedents.

This is not to say that the Jesuit sources can be taken for granted; for, inspired by ideas of edification which we today find hard to understand, they sometimes exaggerate. As when a newly arrived Jesuit, writing home on the subject of those who performed Hindu rites, said that "they have either to lose their lives or become Christians."[16] Actually these laws had the effect of seeking to coerce the consciences of some, and to that extent they resulted in a grave injustice. But the picture which emerges from this study is broadly as follows. Quite early there began a movement towards Christianity, more noticeable among the poorer classes, but not altogether absent among the leading ones. Then laws were passed severely penalising the performance of Hindu ceremonies. Those against whom action was taken under these laws fall into three categories. There were firstly those who performed Hindu worship and endured the penalties of the law. Next, there were those who performed Hindu ceremonies precisely in order to profess their readiness to become Christians when faced with the penalties. Lastly, there were those who were inclined to become Christians but actually decided to do so when arrested for acts of Hindu worship. Furthermore, those who became Christians in these ways were a minority. Chapter V examines how far contemporary Indian ideas of caste bear out the sources which suggest that these laws afforded the minority an opportunity to do what they already wanted or were inclined to do.

This study stops substantially at 1567, the reason being that it is the year of the first Provincial Council of Goa which evaluated and codified the experience of the previous decades and laid down norms for the future. The Council officially marked the end of the debate over the happenings in Goa during the previous decade. However, here and there, when it was felt necessary for a better understanding of the issues or when fuller treatment seemed desirable, the narrative has been carried beyond that.

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIAN HUMANISTS

THE priests who in the sixteenth century came out to India from the West had been brought up in the tradition of Christian humanism. From such teachers of Christian antiquity as Justin, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen they had learnt to discern and appreciate whatever is good in cultures other than those in which they had grown up and to give it its due place in Christian life and thought.

Hence, though they certainly had very definite religious convictions, that did not prevent them from genuinely respecting and liking those who just sincerely differed from them. Thus, there was once on board the ship which was bringing out a party of Jesuits a Jew who still followed the Mosaic law. He lived on quite friendly terms with the Christians and one of the Jesuits described him as "naturally well inclined and prudent," and expressed the wish, "May Our Lord give him those supernatural aids which are necessary for his conversion, since he has bestowed on him the natural ones." [1]

We get a glimpse of this attitude also in the dealings of those priests with Muslims. In 1555, for instance, there was at the Jesuit catechumenate of Goa a Muslim who is described as a man "possessed of good judgment and able to read and write his language very well." And this, although he had been there already for five or six days without showing any readiness to become a Christian. This respect and friendliness had its source in the supervising priest's firm conviction that, in keeping with Christian teaching, a soul's acceptance of Jesus Christ must be a free conscientious decision. As he put it, "if the Lord does not wish that we should make further progress, may His name be praised." [2] Since the problem of compulsion will subsequently claim quite a share of our attention, it is just as well to be aware from the outset that those men were not ignorant of Christian teaching on this subject. Such was also the conviction of Melchior Carneiro, one of the Jesuits who

considerably influenced religious policy in Goa and who, in those very years, affectionately referred to a Muslim trader as "a friend of ours." [3] Henrique Henriquez, the Jesuit who for more than half a century laboured after Xavier in the region of Cape Comorin, is yet another illustration of this. Early in his career he came to know a Hindu ascetic, of whom he sent the following description to Europe more than a year before the man had made up his mind to become a Christian: "I talk often with him and I invite him home to dinner, and we are great friends. . . . To all the questions I put to him he replies very wisely and with great discernment; and when I ask him whether something is sinful or not, he always replies very discerningly, so that he seems to be a Christian." [4]

The humanism of those men is evinced also by their appreciation of much that they saw in the Indian character and culture. "They possess a good script," wrote Gonçalves, referring to Devanagari characters, while regretting that even half a century after the printing press had arrived in Goa it had not as yet been possible to print anything in this script because of the multiplicity of its characters.[5] And of Indian astronomy and medicine he wrote equally appreciatively: "They predict with accuracy eclipses of the sun and the moon many days previously. They study medicine in their universities, their doctors are called pandits and the land is well provided with them. They cure with simple remedies quite unlike European physicians." [6] We also find in their writings a tribute to the frugality and general friendliness of the Indian people.[7] There is, too, in Paulo da Trindade a word of recognition for the strict fairness which, as we also know from other sources, was shown towards strangers in the Vijayanagar Empire, so that Hindu as well as Muslim, Jewish, and Christian traders flocked thither.[8] Yet another observer, this time a Spanish Jesuit who had some experience in the classrooms of St. Paul's College at Goa, wrote home in accents of exaggerated enthusiasm that "the boys of this region are more intelligent than those of Europe." [9]

We also come across praise for some of the things to be found in Indian religious literature. Thus, Paulo da Trindade shows appreciation for the noble sentiments expressed by several Indian moralists, and describes the Indian moral code as one

which teaches "how to live a good life according to the Natural Law 'not to do to another what one does not want done to oneself', and this in elevated verses and profound epigrams referring only to the conservation of human life." [10] The same spirit prompted Joam de Lucena, the late sixteenth century biographer of Francis Xavier, to show esteem for the Tirukural or Sacred Utterances, a Tamil poem of 1330 couplets by a certain Tiruvalluvar, who might have been a Hindu or a Jain, and who was believed by some to have lived in the first century of the Christian era, though now it is generally held that he lived much later; Mylapore is commonly regarded as his birthplace, though Madurai also claims him. "Regarding their knowledge of things divine and natural and moral," says Lucena, "there is among them a book which contains 1330 verses, written in the city of Mylapore by a man called Valuver, about the same time that the Apostle St. Thomas preached there. His teaching is held in great esteem by the Brahmins themselves, and deservedly so. For it gives a good idea of the one only Creator of the world and the reverence due to him, of how idolatry has to be shunned, of the necessity of penance, and of the esteem in which humility and other virtues must be held; and all this so well that presumably the author knew the Holy Apostle and learnt from him what he thus wrote." [11] This estimate indeed shows an incomplete understanding of the work and unwarrantably seeks to trace it to a Christian source, but it also attests the readiness to see good in alien cultures. This appears, too, in the way that, even when for reasons we shall study in Chapter III those men could not approve of the existence of Hindu temples, they were yet not insensible to the quality of temple architecture and could, in the very moment of getting the temples of Salsette demolished in 1567, describe some of them as being "very sumptuous and of exceedingly fine workmanship." [12]

Moreover, these men who had at their mothers' knee learnt to lisp the name of the Mother of Jesus and in her to honour all women halted reverently before the Indian ideal of womanhood and, in the nobler vein of Indian literary tradition, expressed themselves in terms of measured praise. "The Brahmin women," says the Jesuit annual letter of 1560, "are reserved and virtuous, they are naturally modest and submissive, they serve

their husbands like slaves. From the time that Hindu wives were forbidden to burn themselves alive with their dead husband, they have adopted the custom of not marrying again on the death of their husband even though they happen to be very young, of renouncing all coloured dress, and of going about with the head shaved. Their children are intelligent, fair, well-bred, and gifted with a good character."[13] It may be observed in passing that the letter mistook the ancient custom forbidding the remarriage of widows to be of recent origin, but the mistake may well indicate that widow burning was a general practice among the Brahmins of Goa, who in 1555 even succeeded temporarily in obtaining the repeal of the law against it, while about 1559 some of them tried unsuccessfully to secure permission to go and perform the rite outside the Goa Islands.[14]

The attire of these women, too, drew praise from Gonçalves. "They live virtuously," he writes, "and their dress is strikingly modest. They dispense with a tailor's services; for they wear a white cloth just in the state in which it emerges from the loom. It reaches down to the heels and covers the breast and arms, leaving them freedom of movement for household duties. According to their capacity they wear bracelets of gold, silver, or glass on the arms. . . . They are naturally devout and easily learn virtuous ways." And with a fine insight into the old Indian home he remarks that though prior to the birth of a child a woman kept her eyes down in her husband's presence, once a child was born she bore herself as the queen of the home.[15]

This is not to say that all those priests were models of humanism, or that their initial judgments were always accurate. There were among them, as happens everywhere, less refined spirits who generalised or exaggerated the people's faults. In their inconsiderate moments they praised as zeal the discourtesy shown by some Christian children towards non-Christians, a thing which the fifth Provincial Council of Goa severely reprehended. Even Xavier expressed the somewhat hasty belief that because of the hardships which native Christians experienced at the hands of the Portuguese, they would fall away if they were not protected.[16] So too, it was in the early decades taken for granted that Indian names and the nose-ring of women were not compatible with Christianity.[17]

However, the humanism of those men also ensured their willingness to learn and to rectify their errors. Thus, by 1566 it was the general opinion of the Jesuits that their priests should measure up to the Indian ascetical ideal and be endowed with prudence, and they readily acknowledged that some of their number were lacking in discretion. "There are," we read in an account of that year, "specially among recent arrivals from the [home] kingdom, some who indeed possess zeal, but not according to knowledge; for no sooner do they see these Christians depart just a little from the customs of Spain than they think that it is a question of gentile religion and idolatry. They do not know how to distinguish a religious emblem and gentile belief from the custom of the land or region. For example, in some parts of India women are wont to bewail their dead by beating their breasts; there is also a custom that men should have their ears bored. Some Fathers think it idolatry and sometimes even want to put a stop to it, with the result that people are angered, which is a thing to be avoided." [18] Hence, too, in the latter part of the sixteenth century they came to realise that the nose-ring and native family names such as Sinai, Desai, Naik, and Parbu, to which people were attached, were compatible with full acceptance of the message of Jesus, and they permitted their use.[19]

Indeed, we have indications that there were Hindus in those days who, though no strangers to the shortcomings of those priests, generously understood that they were not inspired by bad will and maintained friendly relations with them. Thus, when Francisco Rodriguez, another Jesuit who had a good deal to do with the religious policy of those years, visited Salsette in 1566 "the *Ganvponn*, that is to say, the General Assembly [of the district], was convened, and all, Christians as well as Hindus, came to meet the Father and explain to him how they had no other Father but him to whom they could discover and expose their difficulties, and they made certain representations to him in order that the Father might later take them up with the Viceroy." [20]

Further still, we have the following gratefully recorded instances of how some Hindus nobly helped the priests when they were in sore straits. Thus, early in November, 1564, a Jesuit priest and a Brother sailed from Goa, bound for Damaun.

They were sighted by a Muslim fleet from Malabar. And now to continue in the words of the annual letter of that year: "It was necessary to flee because they were many, while our fleet consisted of just three pinnaces with few people on board. Our people were so hard pressed that with great difficulty, and with water up to the neck, they gained land and escaped. That night they suffered great hardship as they made their way through shrubs; for they were tormented by thirst, and the Father had not drunk anything since two days as he was seasick. God willed that they should come to the house of a Brahmin, a Gentile, who received them kindly." [21] Four years later a more complete account was sent to Europe, describing what that kindness consisted in. We are now told that the priest and the Brother saw "a great number of armed Gentiles approaching them, and thinking that they were coming against them, they commended themselves to God and offered themselves as a sacrifice to his holy good pleasure. But on reaching the spot, instead of killing the Father they raised him on their shoulders and carried him to the house of a rich Brahmin. He treated the one and the other as though they were his own children, providing them with very fine food and rest; and what is more, he sent people to accompany them for a large stretch of the way to the place where they were to take ship and complete their journey." And the narrative concludes with the appreciation and prayer, "May Our Lord reward this Brahmin for the good deed he did in sending people to search for them and save them from pirates." [22]

This account of 1568 also contains another example of kindness shown towards a Jesuit that very year on the border of Salsette, and is therefore specially noteworthy because just the year before, the temples of Salsette had all been demolished at the instance of the Jesuits. "Last March," we read, "in the land of Salsette, which is in the neighbourhood of this city [Goa] and where we have five churches with five Fathers and five Brothers,[23] and where there will be about 200,000 Gentiles and 2,000 Christians, one of those Fathers set out in a small boat to visit one of his other companions [at Cortalim], going down a very large canal [Rio de Rachol] which divides the land of the Gentiles [Salsette] from the mainland, where the Muslims have a post [Durbate] and exact toll from all who pass that

way. Arrived at this place of passage, the Father was very soon surrounded by a large number of Muslims in small boats of a special kind which is usual here, and they courteously complained that when our Fathers passed that way they did not go and do them homage. On the Father saying that he was neither a merchant nor subject to their jurisdiction, they began to get angry and drawing nigh to the Father's boat they seized the weapons of some Christians who were going along with the Father in order to defend him should some danger befall him. Finally, unable to conceal their hostile intent any further, they attempted to seize him by force, but failing to do so they tried to kill him. And thus, they were all round him, some with lances, others with arrows, others with stones, doing all in their power. The Father, meanwhile, covered himself with a large shield and the Christians were doing their best to save him; and as the captain of the ford was about to give the Father a severe blow on the head, one of the Christians, seeing that there was no other way of saving him, shot from a bow which he carried and pierced the Muslim through and through. On his falling dead into the water, the others began to retreat leaving the Father on this side of the canal, with many wounds and half dead. And he would surely have been killed had that shield not protected him, so many were the places in which it was struck by arrows and lances. While the Father was in this condition, a large number of Brahmins came running up to succour him, and preparing a sort of stretcher with sticks and a long piece of cloth they conveyed him to one of their homes, where to the best of their ability and knowledge they applied medicines to him with extraordinary kindness. And thence they bore him to the church of the said Father [at Cortalim], providing a palanquin in which to take him to Goa, this being a comfortable arrangement in which people are carried here. Arrived at Goa, he lay in bed for more than forty days to allow his wounds to heal." [24]

In conclusion, a word of explanation is necessary about the term 'Gentile', which we have already come across several times. The very fact that it occurs in gratefully recorded examples of Hindu friendliness should dispel the idea that it showed lack of esteem. In fact, it has its origin in the distinction the Bible makes between the Jews and all other peoples,

these being called 'gentes' in the Latin translation; that being the Latin word for 'peoples'. And hence, the Portuguese word 'gentio' and the English 'gentile'. The Bible itself extols the religious sincerity of Gentiles such as Job, who is even represented as having received the favour of conversing personally with God, and Christians have always venerated these holy Gentiles of the Bible. The term came to exchange its ethnic for a religious connotation only gradually. The Bible speaks of Christians who are not of the Jewish race as 'Gentiles'. But our sources, while speaking specifically of 'Jews', 'Muslims', and 'Christians', comprise all others under the term 'Gentiles'. The terms 'pagan' and 'heathen', which also occur in Christian writings, have, though differently derived, the same connotation as 'gentile'.

CHAPTER II

ADMINISTRATIVE AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

THE area covered by this study comprises the islands of Tisvadi, Chorao, Divar, Vamsim, and Zuve, situated at a spot on the south-west coast of India where several rivers meet. They were conquered by Affonso d'Albuquerque from the Sultan of Bijapur in 1510 and were till 1543 the only area under effective Portuguese rule. Together they constitute the administrative department called 'Ilhas' or Islands. The first three will figure prominently in this study, while the last two scarcely ever find mention in our sources.

According to one tradition, the original inhabitants were led thither by the legendary north Indian hero, Parashurama. On the other hand, the early Portuguese found in Goa another tradition that the people had originally descended from the highlands of Kanara; whence, these writers gave them the name 'Canarins'. The most outstanding Goan historian of today, Panduranga Pissurlencar, reconciles these two traditions by suggesting that the former refers to the administrative, and the latter to the farmer class.[1]

The language is Konkani, which has declensions and conjugations similar to those of Marathi. Its vocabulary is in great part derived from Sanskrit, but also includes words of Dravidian and Persian derivation. Regarding its syntax, it is interesting to observe the remark of Henrique Henriqez, whom we met in the beginning of the previous chapter. In 1567, having completed his Tamil grammar on which he had been working since 1548, he began work on a Konkani grammar with the aid of a couple of Goans. Comparing the two languages he wrote: "A few words are similar in both languages, but the construction is very much alike; nevertheless, Konkani is the more difficult of the two."[2]

Tisvadi, the largest and westernmost of these islands, specially, made a pleasing impression on the sixteenth century Jesuits from Europe, and they described it in glowing terms to

their brethren at home. They saw a small but beautiful and fertile territory, dotted with numerous, never-failing springs of good water. The perennial green orchards and palm groves presented a refreshing sight to their eyes. Though the fruits tasted different from those of their own country, they found them equally delicious. They noticed, too, that the palm groves constituted a special source of wealth. They remarked that it never got cold, and that had it not been for the rains there would be no difference between summer and winter.[3] They observed the protection afforded by the river Mandovi on the north and the Zuari on the south, and thought it a novelty worth recounting that, besides the forts constructed at exposed points, the island was defended by "river dragons called crocodiles . . . in truth, a horrible beast which bears special enmity to man and swallows him at one gulp." People from the surrounding regions eagerly resorted thither saying, "let us go and have a holiday in the pleasant shades of Goa and taste its fine betel."[4]

Tisvadi's rural population was distributed among thirty-one villages, some of which attracted attention by their size, being considered "more properly fit to be called rural towns because of their large size and the number of their inhabitants." Some of them are said to have had more than 10,000 inhabitants, though the population of the entire island is in 1548 given as only somewhat more than 40,000.[5]

As for the city of Goa in the north of Tisvadi, about 1550 it appeared to a Portuguese observer greater, or at any rate more populous, than any in Portugal except Lisbon. While an Italian, accustomed to the closely packed buildings and somewhat gloomy courtyards of the European cities of the day, described it as a beautiful city with sumptuous palaces, where every house was provided with some garden space—"a thing not to be overlooked." The foreign traders included Turks, Persians, Arabs, Ethiopians, Chinese, and representatives of many other nations, each group attired after its own distinctive fashion. Hence, to walk through the streets made a Portuguese feel that he was in Lisbon's busiest commercial centre.[6]

On the ecclesiastical side Portugal's eastern possessions were in 1514 included in the diocese of Funchal, erected that very year with its seat in the city of that name in the island of

Madeira off the north-west coast of Africa. In erecting it the Pope referred to the Crown's privilege of presenting candidates for ecclesiastical posts, but at the same time mentioned its obligation to maintain church establishments and promote the Catholic Faith. During this period, bishops were sent out to the East in order to confer the sacraments proper to them but without authority to rule, the Dominican, Duarte Nunes, being the first such bishop of whom it is possible to speak with certainty. The actual administration was in the hands of Vicars General, the last such under this arrangement being Miguel Vaz (1532-47). This lasted till 1533, when the Pope at the request of King John III instituted the diocese of Goa for the entire territory east of the Cape of Good Hope. However, not till 1538 was the See actually occupied for the first time by the Franciscan Recollect, Juan de Albuquerque, under whose authority Miguel Vaz now passed. The Bishop was a man of earnest convictions, and a few years before his death in 1553 the City Council of Goa testified to his zeal and solicitude for poor Christians.[7]

In 1558 Goa was made an archbishopric, with Cochin and Malacca for suffragans, to which were later added Macao, Funai in Japan, and Mylapore. In keeping with a decree of the Council of Trent, Archbishop and suffragans met from time to time in assemblies called Provincial Councils in order to decide on measures to promote Christian life. The first council was held in 1567; others followed in 1575, 1585, 1592, and 1606. After that, there was a long interruption till the late nineteenth century.[8]

Of the religious orders, the Franciscans were the first to establish themselves here in 1518. Jesuit beginnings date from the arrival of Francis Xavier in 1542. While the Dominicans established their house in 1548.

On the secular side, when Goa became Portugal's eastern capital in 1530, the Central Government, consisting of Viceroy or Governor, Chancellor, Secretary, Treasurer (Vedor da Fazenda), and Chief Justice (Ouvidor Geral), was transferred hither from Cochin. Below it came the Provincial Administration, consisting of Captain, Factor, and Judge. The Viceroy or Governor was assisted by a Council of State which included the Chancellor, Secretary, Treasurer, and Captain of Goa.

However, the Viceroy's or Governor's voice was decisive in the matter of religious policy, and our sources speak almost exclusively of his influence in this regard.[9]

The Portuguese had to depend on the native administrative class for revenue collection as well as for trade, and, hence, cultivated its friendship. Moreover, Portuguese officials not seldom regarded their appointments as a reward for services already rendered and as an opportunity to pay off debts and promote the interests of their families. We consequently hear complaints that they tried to make the best of their opportunity by oppressing poor Christians, thereby hindering the spread of the message of Jesus. Though we owe much of our information on this point to priests, the fact is that to reduce the chances of corruption Governor Joao de Castro in 1546 suggested that appointments be made for three years only.[10]

For an understanding of local conditions we have to go to the Charter of Local Usages issued in 1526. It was in fact a code of local administration, and constitutes a unique source from which to reconstruct village life in the first half of the sixteenth century. The Charter is of historical importance also because by comparing it with the Dharmashastras or the classical Hindu moral codes one gets an idea of the extent to which their prescriptions were actually followed in Goa.[11]

Local administration, then, rested on the ancient Indian system of village autonomy, the village being dominated by the elders or *ganvcars*, who were believed to be drawn from the original families. At their head was a chief elder or two, who represented the village before the Government. Each village had, besides, a scribe or scribes attached to it. The status of village elder or scribe devolved by hereditary right from father to son, so that even if the actual holder were to lose it for some fault, his heir had to succeed him. The government of the village was vested in an assembly of these elders, whose decisions, to be valid, had to be unanimous and be duly registered by the scribe, the rest of the village abiding as a matter of course by their decision. The scribe also kept records of land holdings and tax dues, and the village administration had to be run in conformity with his records.[12]

Above the village came the General Assembly, composed of representative elders from the various villages. It, too, had a

hereditary scribe, and no transaction was valid without his being there to record it. Here also the rule of unanimity prevailed. The consent of eight principal villages was necessary in all matters affecting the Islands as a whole. They were: Greater Neura, Gaunsim, Ella, Azossim, Calapor, Greater Morobim, Carambolim, and Batim. The chief elder of Greater Neura had the privilege of declaring in the General Assembly that a resolution was unanimously adopted; in his absence the honour went to the scribe.[13]

The link between the Government and the villagers were the 'thanadars', appointed by the Government to supervise groups of villages and having a chief *thanadar* at their head. They possessed administrative, police, and judicial attributions.

The chief thanadar's was a key position. For it was to him that a village had to report when unable to pay its quota of land tax. He then, in conjunction with the chief elders of the eight principal villages, supervised the customary arrangements to make up the deficit. He could also in conjunction with the elders decide up to a certain degree causes involving loss of position for an elder. The elders were, moreover, obliged to gather in assembly whenever he convoked them.[14]

It is with regard to property and inheritance, specially, that one finds interesting points of comparison between the Dharmashastras and Goan usages.

There are, for instance, two views in the Dharmashastras as to whether the king owns the entire land or not. According to one view, he has only the right to tax, ownership being vested in the actual holder; but according to another view, ownership of all land, except that dedicated to temples, is vested in the king, the actual holder being just his tenant.[15] The second view prevailed in Goa, so that on the morrow of the conquest Affonso d'Albuquerque could inform his King that "the lands of Goa are the exclusive patrimony of the King and lord of the land, all other people and the tillers of the soil are tenants, to whom the lands are hired out by the standard measure of two palms for a price corresponding to their fertility."[16] But at the same time, the principle of hereditary succession was strictly maintained.[17]

Again, the earliest Dharmashastras excluded women altogether from inheritance, but the rule had come to be gradually modi-

fied, so that by the Middle Ages the right of daughters and widows was in principle accepted. Nevertheless, the older habit of thought still held sway, so that even among converts to Islam daughters continued to be disinherited "in violation of one of the fundamental principles of the Shariah."[18] In Goa, too, the stricter view prevailed, women being categorically denied inheritance. Accordingly, when a man died heirless, his property escheated to the Crown in a peculiar manner. For the movable property had to be auctioned to the highest bidder, what remained of the proceeds after paying the man's debts going to the Crown. The immovable property had to be sold by right to the man's relatives, provided they were ready to pay the due price for it; if they failed to take it within five days, it had to be auctioned to the highest bidder from among the elders of the village and the proceeds disposed of as above.[19]

The Dharmashastras also provide that if one whose land tax is in arrears absconds together with his surety, he may be given up to ten years to pay up, failing which, his property may be sold. This rule, too, obtained in Goa, the village assembly being charged with giving effect to it in the following manner. When an elder absconded because of unwillingness or inability to pay, a time was fixed for his return. If he failed to turn up, his heirs were required to assume ownership and the obligations annexed to the property; if they declined, the assembly was to bestow it on whomsoever it chose, provided he was ready to pay the tax and the arrears. A stricter rule was applied if an elder of Chorao or the other small islands went over to Bijapur territory, with no prospect of his ever returning. For then, his movable property straightaway escheated to the Crown, while his immovable property had to be auctioned to the highest bidder from among those entitled to it, the proceeds going to the Crown.[20]

And now we come to a particularly interesting custom whereby a man came to lose all property rights. The Dharmashastras prescribe a rather costly penance for one who has been defiled by taking food from Mlecchas or barbarians; unwillingness to meet this requirement spells rejection by one's own people and permanent exclusion from Hindu society. Here is what followed: "In such a case the sinner's relatives made a slave-girl whose face was turned to the south thrust aside with her foot

an earthen jar full of water so that all the water flowed out of it, then the relatives were to observe mourning for one day and night (as he was deemed dead to them) and from that day they were to stop speaking or sitting with him and all other social intercourse, and he was to be given no inheritance." [21] In theory, then, it was possible to be readmitted into Hindu society, but in practice it was not so easy, as we learn from K. A. N. Sastri's comment on the readmission of the two founder brothers of the Vijayanagar Empire after they had lived for some years as Muslims. We are told that they were received back by the sage Vidyaranya and that "it needed a spiritual leader of his eminence to receive them back from Islam into Hinduism and to render the act generally acceptable to Hindu society." [22] Yet another injunction of the Dharmashastras has it that on renouncing the world and becoming a sannyasi a man cuts himself off from his family and thereby loses all right to property and inheritance. Both these injunctions were observed in Goa and were expressed thus in the Charter: "If one of the brothers becomes a Muslim or a jogi, who is something like the gypsies of Portugal, so that he no more consorts with his home people, then, if the property has already been partitioned among them, his movable property shall pass to Us. [i.e. the Crown], and also his immovable property unless it is subject to tax; for then it shall be sold with the obligation of paying the tax, and what remains of the proceeds after paying the man's debts shall be for Us." [23]

With regard, however, to those who were believed to have fallen away from Hindu society under compulsion, the medieval jurists came to hold a somewhat moderate view. A costly penance was still a requisite for their readmission, but they were not considered as having disgraced themselves.[24]

The medieval Dharmashastras, furthermore, permit sale of oneself or one's dependents, specially in time of famine.[25] It is difficult to estimate how far this was actually practised, and one of the early Jesuits may have been exaggerating when he wrote, "It is a common ancient custom here for a father to sell his son, and a mother her daughter, and an uncle his nephews, and elder brothers the younger ones. . . . It is a common custom in these parts for anyone who wants to sell himself to do so; and hence, thousands sell themselves daily in these regions." [26] However,

from the year 1559 we have an example of how such a thing was taken for granted. It has also a place in this study because it is the only sure instance we have of beef being given to a Hindu, and that, too, by a simple kind-hearted woman who meant well by an apparently abandoned child. Two Hindu women that year wended their way towards the city of Goa in order to buy provisions, with one of them leading her little son by the hand. As the child was weary, his mother asked her companion to rest on the steps of a Christian house by the roadside and mind her boy while she herself went to buy provisions for both of them. Untrue to her trust, this woman knocked at the door and asked the mistress of the house whether she would like to buy her son. The Christian woman thereupon upbraided her with her lack of maternal love. Feeling ashamed to accept the money, she said she would return for it later and disappeared. The Christian woman now asked the apparently abandoned child whether he wished to become a Christian. On his saying he did, she straightaway gave him beef. As the mother returned and looked round distressfully, she heard her child's voice within. Then, learning what had happened, she went in search of a priest and told him amidst tears that she too wished to become a Christian since her boy was already one.[27]

It has to be pointed out, though, that even Christian thinkers of the time did not condemn all slavery. The Provincial Council of 1567, after complaining that there was much unjust slavery, took the custom of the land into account and laid down that a slave could be justly retained only when one of the following conditions was verified : if one was born of a slave-woman; if one had been captured in a just war; if one had freely sold oneself in accordance with the law, without, however, violating natural justice; if a parent sold a child because of extreme penury; or if one had been sentenced to be sold into slavery for some crime, as provided by the law of the land. Francis Xavier himself had no difficulty about the prevalent idea of just slavery, and in the early years the Goa Jesuits kept slaves, so long as they saw no reason to doubt that they had been justly acquired. But since with the exception of Sicily and the Portuguese dominions nowhere else did the Jesuits keep slaves, in 1569 the head of the Order required his men to set their slaves free.[28]

Forced labour had been, though perhaps sparingly, employed in India already under the ancient Hindu dynasties. Somewhat in accordance with this, the elders of Goa were every year, in proportion to the population of their respective villages, obliged to provide labour in order to clear away weeds and brambles from the city walls and trenches and to perform some other necessary services or to meet an urgent need. Practice, however, went beyond the Charter; for in 1545 we find the people being obliged to contribute free labour to beach Portuguese ships and tow them out again.[29]

And with that, we come to the subject of tax and revenue administration. At the time of the conquest Affonso d'Albuquerque reduced the land tax to two-thirds of what it had been under Bijapur; but before two decades had passed it was once again raised to its former level. Each village had to pay a fixed amount, with the elders and scribe settling the contribution of each land holder. The tax had to be paid irrespective of whether the yield in a particular year permitted it or not, the only exception being when loss was due to war. But just as the villagers had to bear the loss, so also was the surplus theirs to be spent or distributed according to custom.[30]

The low lying rice fields, which are in fact the best land, were owned jointly by the elders, who had to lease them out every year to the highest bidder from the village, or, when custom so permitted, also from among outsiders. What remained of the proceeds after paying the tax went into the common fund. Even when the thanadar and the elders of the eight principal villages intervened because a village defaulted, they could not in any way prejudice its autonomy.[31]

The system of collecting taxes on commodities was inherited from Bijapur rule, and consisted in farming out the tax so that whoever wished to trade in a commodity had to come to an agreement with the farmer. It is clear that the farmer's demands would affect the market price. Hence, the system was strongly condemned by the Dominicans, but as they suggested nothing else in its place it continued with the one exception of the tax on exchange, which was revoked by Viceroy Affonso de Noronha (1550-54).[32]

It is necessary to say a word also about currency, since some of the coins will occur in this study. The native coin called

pardao continued to circulate even after 1510. There was a *pardao* worth 300 Portuguese *reis* of the time, as well as a gold *pardao* equivalent to 360 *reis*. Albuquerque also issued a new coinage, which broadly followed the native system. The highest denomination was the *cruzado*, also called *manuel* due to its having King Manuel I's image on it; it was of gold and worth somewhat more than the gold *pardao*. The *tanga*, which was first introduced by the Muhammadan Sultans of North India, was not current in Goa after the Portuguese occupation, but the denominations *tanga* and *tanga branca*, equivalent respectively to 60 and 111-1/5 *reis*, continued to be used for the purpose of reckoning, in much the same way as Indians still reckon in annas even after the introduction of the decimal system.[33]

We next come to the professional guilds, which have from early times played a prominent part in the economic life of the country. Such was their reputation for trustworthiness that people used to deposit money with them to be spent on public charitable purposes. Each class of artisans had its own guild, in which a son usually succeeded to his father's calling. Of the goldsmiths' guild in particular, we learn that it was highly esteemed in Goa. A guild was presided over by one or more headmen and its affairs were regulated by the members in assembly.[34] A contemporary Jesuit account describes the headman as follows: "Among the Muslims as well as the Hindus of this land there is in every kind of craft a title called Mukadam, which corresponds to that of Superintendent in our language; all those who practise that particular craft acknowledge in a certain way his superiority."[35]

Yet another feature of Goan life was that even after the Portuguese conquest, Brahmins continued to occupy the position they had on the whole deservedly held in the country through the centuries.[36] Our sources characterise the Brahmins of Goa as fair-skinned, well proportioned, aristocratic in bearing, gifted with keen intelligence, dexterous in practical affairs. They constituted the priestly class, learned in, and attached to, their traditions, and respected as far north as Bassein and Diu. By the middle of the sixteenth century many of them had acquired sufficient knowledge of Portuguese.[37] As elders and scribes they controlled village life and as government officials they wielded influence with the Portuguese Administration. In the years

1540-48 the chief thanadar was a Brahmin by name Krishna, who had earlier visited Portugal and been greatly favoured by the King. In 1543, on behalf of the Portuguese he negotiated with the Sultan of Bijapur and got him to cede Bardez and Salsette. His son Dadaji held the trusted post of interpreter to the Viceroy, so that letters in native languages passed through his hands.[38] The head farmer of taxes was in these years a Brahmin called Loku, while yet another by the name of Anu Sinai was the commercial agent of the Portuguese. We hear, too, of a certain Gopu whose influence is said to have equalled that of Krishna and Loku and who might have been the person of the same name who figures as chief elder of Greater Neura in a document of 1553. The Brahmins of Goa also served as couriers along the Portuguese dominated coastline from Mylapore to Diu.[39]

This survey of the position of the leading classes bears out the statements of Jesuits as well as others that some of them were so closely connected with the Portuguese Administration as to be even deemed indispensible. On the other hand, we hear complaints that Portuguese officials as well as some native ones like Krishna and Gopu were hard on the people. We also find some members of the native administrative class being accused of molesting those who became Christians.[40] As these accusations have not a little to do with the expulsion laws to be studied subsequently, it is enough to consider here whether there was any possibility of their being true. For this, it is necessary to advert that the village elders constituted a brotherhood. Now Moreland speaking of contemporary Mughal India points out how the central Ministry suspected that in allocating the land tax "headmen were favouring themselves and their friends, to the prejudice of the peasants outside their circle . . . where cliques or factions existed, the weak had sometimes to pay for the strong."[41] There is no reason, then, to exclude the possibility of such things happening in Goa too.

The social precedence enjoyed by certain villages and the chief elders also deserves mention. Thus, when at the approach of the rainy season the houses had to be covered with palm leaves to protect the mud walls against the lashing rains, it was the chief elder's privilege to begin work on his house first. Also, at any festive gathering the chief elder was the first to be honoured

with betel and garlanded with a strip of white cloth called 'pachodi'. Among the villages, Taleganv had the prerogative of commencing the harvesting of rice. It is specially interesting to observe that already by 1526, and, therefore, when not many people had yet become Christians, the elders of Taleganv went and laid a sheaf of newly harvested rice on the high altar of St. Catherine's church, the Vicar then garlanding with pachodis those chosen for the honour. Until 1540 each village likewise offered its sheaves to its deity.[42]

This chapter may now be closed by taking a look at a custom which illustrates how meticulously questions of precedence were resolved. When dancing girls and male dancers were called to a village, they had first to honour the chief elder by going to his house. Where there were two of them, it was for the performers to go to the one of their choice and the other had to come thither. The two would then stand together, and while receiving betel cross their hands in such a way that the hand of the one on the left passed over that of the one on the right.[43] This arrangement enabled the one on the right to say that he had the precedence because of his position, while the one on the left could say the same because his hand passed over the other's.[44]

CHAPTER III

ORIGINS OF THE RIGOUR OF MERCY

WHEN at the end of the sixteenth century Francisco Paes, a high Treasury official of the Goa Government, wished to characterise the way the Islands had been christianised, he called it the 'Rigour of Mercy'. Hence the title of this and the two subsequent chapters.[1]

In fact, the tendency towards a sort of rigour manifested itself less than a decade after Albuquerque's conquest. For as early as 1518 Friar Antonio de Louro, the Franciscan Superior of Goa, raised his voice against a policy which, while forbidding the burning of widows, for the rest left things as they were. However, this first protest confined itself to requesting that the Portuguese monarch should forbid Hindu yogis to enter the Islands.[2] Four years later the visiting Dominican Bishop, Duarte Nunes, in a letter to the King described the religious conditions in Goa and made a suggestion that went beyond Friar Louro's. "Regarding the people of Goa," he wrote, "they have in the island their temples decked out with figures of the enemy of the Cross and [?] statues, and they celebrate their feasts every year. These feasts are attended by many Christians, our own people as well as recent native Christians. It is a big mistake to continue to show favour to their idolatry. It would be to the service of God to destroy in this island alone these temples, and to raise in their stead churches with Saints. And let him who wants to live in the island become a Christian, and he shall possess his lands and houses, as he has till now done; if not, let him leave the island."[3] Drastic as this plan of Duarte Nunes might seem, it is best to reserve our judgment until we have considered the motives behind it.

However, for the time being the Government continued to abide by its policy, and in the Charter of 1526 even sanctioned the custom whereby the village could bestow lands on temple servants and that which regulated inheritance among sons of polygamous marriages. Now, on the morrow of the conquest

Albuquerque had given a pledge that the inhabitants had nothing to fear. Hence, the people might well have understood these provisions of the Charter as a further pledge that their institutions would not be touched.[4] And in fact, when later in the century the policy of rigour came into effect, the reproach was made that it constituted a violation of the plighted word.[5] It is worth noting that we owe our information about this particular reproach to the one-time Jesuit, Antonio de Heredia, who seemed to think it had some justification. On the contrary, Francisco Paes, whose impartiality no one has questioned, says that the Conqueror refrained from giving any guarantee with regard to the temple lands because of his belief that the inhabitants would all one day become Christians.[6]

Bishop Duarte's suggestion about the temples did not take effect till 1540; but then it was carried out so thoroughly that five years later the Italian Jesuit, Nicolao Lancillotto, could on arriving in Goa write home that there were no more temples to be seen. Numberless Gentiles, Muslims, and bad Christians, he said, was all that there was.[7] The two names specially connected with this event are those of the Vicar General, Miguel Vaz, and the priest Diego Borba. We shall see in Chapter VI how Miguel Vaz's humanity prompted him to feel genuine concern for fatherless girls, forced labourers, and prisoners lodged in inhuman conditions. With his self-forgetfulness, moreover, he combined good judgment.[8] As for Diego Borba, he was sent out by John III in company with Bishop Albuquerque, and soon made a very good impression in Goa. He seconded Miguel Vaz's efforts to alleviate the lot of the poor, whether Hindus or Christians, and, though occasionally criticised for lack of balance, his prudence is in general well attested. To cite but one instance of his humanity, some time between 1542 and 1545 Governor Martin Affonso de Sousa freed the fishermen from an impost called 'gallimai' or spoils, which consisted in making over to the thanadars part of the catch as a perquisite of their office. But no sooner did Don Joao de Castro succeed as Governor in September, 1545, than the thanadars petitioned him to reintroduce the impost. The Governor referred the matter to the Court and the fishermen of Banastarim were ordered to pay. There was every likelihood that the same fate would befall other fishermen as well. Hence,

though but comparatively few of them were Christians, Diego Borba took up their cause and sought to have the matter brought to the King's notice. The best testimony to the humanity of these two men is the grief which poor Hindus and Christians felt at their death in January, 1547; for they looked, we learn, specially to Miguel Vaz for help and protection.[9]

How far Bishop Albuquerque himself took part in the demolition of the temples we do not know; but it was certainly in keeping with his attitude towards non-Christian worship. However, here again we are dealing with one who, though old and sickly, was solicitous about the poor and considerate even towards customs which he could not fully reconcile with his idea of Christianity. This is well illustrated by the fact that when in 1549 the prince of Tanur, a minor principality to the south of Kozhikode (Calicut), was baptised, the Bishop against opposition successfully maintained that he should, for the time being, be permitted to wear the thread of the twice-born—a question that was to figure prominently about three quarters of a century later in the great debate around de Nobili's method. The Bishop's discernment appears also in his awareness of the need for prudence, and he had cause to lament that some of his helpers were lacking in it.[10]

As for the manner in which the temples were actually demolished, it is known that a certain Fabiao Gonçalvez, who was under the guidance of Miguel Vaz, had something to do with it.[11] It is also known that there was considerable opposition from the people.[12] But the clearest account of what happened comes from Gaspar Correa, the erstwhile secretary of Affonso d'Albuquerque. "Master Diego [Borba] and his collaborators," he writes, "persecuted so much the houses of the idols and their ministers, and caused among them such dissensions, lawsuits, and evils that the Gentiles themselves of their own accord eventually pulled down and demolished the houses of the idols."[13] It was the people themselves, then, who under pressure brought down the temples. The further question as to how this pressure through law-suits was exerted can only be answered with hesitation. For, given the fact that even now the courts are called upon to decide cases of alleged irregularities in the administration of temple properties,[14] it is likely that a similar situation was availed of to support grievances, so that

the managements themselves preferred to pull down the temples.[15]

We have next to examine how the temple lands were disposed of, for the view has long been current that they were confiscated for the support of Christian institutions.[16] Now shortly after the demolition of the temples, there was founded in April, 1541, the Confraternity of Holy Faith which aimed, among other things, at helping poor Christians and maintaining churches. It also established the College of St. Paul's to educate boys from all over the East for the priesthood.[17] The Confraternity counted among its members Fernao Rodrigues de Castello Branco, head of the Treasury Department, and, at this juncture, also acting Governor in the absence of Estevao da Gama. After first sounding the villagers, Castello Branco convoked on 28 June, 1541, a meeting at which the eight principal villages were represented. He initiated the proceedings by asking them whether they would like to cede the temple revenues in favour of churches and the Confraternity. The villagers firmly replied that the Crown had no claim on these lands, giving as reason that they were included in the general land tax. Accordingly, they maintained that they were free to farm out these lands and pay their tax out of the proceeds, but they offered to cede in perpetuity a yearly sum of 2,000 *tangas brancas* to be spent as proposed. Castello Branco accepted their argument and their terms,[18] and thus things remained until, by the middle of February, 1545, Governor Martin Affonso de Sousa donated these lands to St. Paul's.[19]

To know the reasons behind Martin Affonso's action, we have to go to Francisco Paes, whose impartiality has never been questioned and who drew up in 1595 a record of the sources of revenue, availing himself of original documents for the purpose.[20] He tells us that Castello Branco made a mistake in accepting the argument of the villagers; for these lands had never been computed in the tax, and besides, what had once been devoted to a religious end could not be turned to profane use.[21] Both these reasons accorded with the classical Indian principles [22] which were incorporated in the Charter of 1526. For it is there expressly stated that these lands are bestowed as of grace, and are to be neither added to without becoming subject to tax nor resumed.[23] In keeping, then, with the principle

appealed to later in 1569 when the temple lands of Salsette and Bardez were in question, Martin Affonso acted on the understanding that the income of these lands had inviolably to serve "the spiritual good of the local inhabitants whose ancestors donated them." The villagers themselves seem to have been aware of this. How else to explain their statement in 1541 that the lands had been reckoned in the tax, despite the fact that as recently as 1532 they had presented in court a copper-plate inscription of 1391 clearly stating that certain lands on the outskirts of Goa-Velha in the south of Tisvadi were given for the maintenance of temple priests, "free from all tax, according to the custom of the land?" They thereby now acknowledged that the decisive argument for claiming that the lands reverted to them was to say that they had been included in the tax. Once this was shown to be inexact, they seem to have raised no objection against having to surrender the lands, and even implicitly said so when an inquiry into the lands was instituted at Greater Neura in the beginning of 1553.[24]

We have just seen some of the aims of the nascent Confraternity of Holy Faith. Its other aims were: to hinder the erection of new temples or the rebuilding of old ones, to prevent non-Christians from harassing Christians or leaving their Christian relatives destitute, and to get Christians preferred in Government appointments.[25]

It was at this juncture that Francis Xavier arrived and exerted an influence of his own, for John III relied on him and actually asked him to report in detail on conditions in India. Xavier in turn formed a favourable opinion of Miguel Vaz and recommended him without reserve to the King. Hence, what more natural than that the King should have instructed Vaz to work in collaboration with Xavier?[26] However, it is worth pointing out that, contrary to what is sometimes supposed, Xavier initiated no new policy.[27] The suggestions of Antonio de Louro and Duarte Nunes, the demolition of the temples and the aims of the Confraternity of Holy Faith show that there was some sort of rigour even before Xavier set foot in Goa. With that policy Xavier most likely agreed, but we have also to recall that he insistently enjoined on his men to make themselves loved of the people.[28]

Now the very fact that the chief authors of this policy were genuinely humane suggests that theirs was not an overbearing severity. How far this conjecture is correct will appear when we come to their motives and the circumstances in which they acted.

Before that, we must get to know what were the specific measures taken. In the first place we have a diocesan ordinance which may even have somewhat preceded the demolition of the temples and which imposed a fine even on Hindus for opening their shops before time on days when Christians had to go to church.[29] Next, the years 1540-45 saw the following enactments : it was made a serious offence to fashion, or even privately retain, Hindu religious objects; Hindu houses were liable to be searched on suspicion that they harboured such things; all public celebration of Hindu feasts was forbidden; no one was to receive in his house Hindu priests from outside the Islands; no Sinai Brahmin was to be employed by a Portuguese official; finally, Hindu painters were not allowed to exercise their art on Christian themes. The reason given for this last provision was that the man would spend on his own worship the money he got by selling his work to Christians. These enactments, however, remained for the most part a dead letter. And so, when Miguel Vaz thinking of retirement went back to Portugal in 1545, he requested the King to lend them his authority. He also added a special request that Krishna and his son Dadaji be deprived of their respective posts of chief thanadar and interpreter to the Governor, and that the Sinai Brahmins be sent out of the Goa Islands, Bassein, and Diu.[30]

Meanwhile, Francis Xavier urgently advised the King to send back Miguel Vaz, and to appoint an official with exclusive jurisdiction over native Christians so as to exempt them from the Goa Government's control.[31] Though the King made no such appointment, he did, after consulting his Mesa de Consciencia or board of spiritual advisers, authorise the expulsions and other measures requested by Vaz, and sent him back with authority to secure the Governor's aid whenever he deemed fit. Corresponding instructions were also issued to the Governor requiring him to stop Hindu worship, without, however, resorting to force, as that would give cause for offence. The King, besides, not only approved the starting of village schools for

instructing Christians, but also told Vaz and the Governor sometimes in the year to send preachers through the countryside and oblige the Hindus to come and hear them.[32]

We have also to take note of the territorial division effected by Viceroy Don Pedro Mascarenhas (1554-55), whereby the region west of the inlet that runs from Cape Nazareth to Moula was allotted to the Dominicans, and that to the east of it to the Jesuits.[33] Its interest lies in the fact that contemporary documents are most abundant for the Jesuit sector. But since we do have some indications for the Islands as a whole, and since policy was eventually worked out in common, we are able to get a general idea of what happened in the entire area.

Now in order to understand this attitude towards temples and images, one has to bear in mind that those men were convinced that by this worship the people really acknowledged that something less than God had mastery over them.[34] This conviction seemed to find support when Hindu priests, as well as others, acknowledged that the popular beliefs were mistaken, and well esteemed Hindu ascetics stated that there was one only God, than whom man could not rightly serve any other master.[35] Moreover, those Christian priests concluded in seeming haste that certain practices, which they really could not approve of without being traitors to their own conscience, were closely linked with Hindu worship. Diego Borba expressed their common thought when he spoke of the people's "indescribable kinds of idolatries and such monstrous customs."[36] Others have recorded for us what such phrases meant.

There was, to begin with, the custom of widow burning, which even an early Indian writer on the Shastras had found to be against the Vedic injunction that "one should not leave this world before one has finished one's allotted span of life." The Christian priests agreed with him, and, when in 1555 Governor Francisco Barreto at the request of the Hindus revoked Affonso d'Albuquerque's prohibition against the practice, they unanimously protested calling it "a great offence of God."[37] Even the open-minded Pietro della Valle, who in Ikkeri to the south of Goa personally interviewed a young widow that had freely resolved to go into the pyre, could not, while admiring the conjugal fidelity and love and generosity of such women, forbear from characterising the custom as "cruel and barbarous."[38]

Nor can it be said that no pressure was ever exerted, and a Jesuit account of 1548 from Goa gives the following painful description of what could happen. Referring probably to Bardez and Salsette, where the practice continued till 1560, it says: "When one of these Gentiles dies outside this island, it is the custom for the deceased man's relatives and those of his wife to ask her whether she wants to marry [again],[39] or lead a loose life, or die with her husband that she might go and rest with him in heaven. If she wants to lead a loose life or marry, all her relatives shout at her and do not want to see her any more, and turn her out of their midst, and hold her for a very bad woman. If she chooses to die with her husband, they make a great feast at which they serve food, and a wine called 'urrac' which intoxicates just like wine. In this way, after banquet and feasting, accompanied by music and song, they dress her in silk clothes, and place many gold ornaments round her neck and on her arms. They then go to the field with much feasting and make a very deep and wide pit in which they light a great fire. And while she dances round the fire with her relatives, one comes up and takes away one thing, another something else, until they have taken away everything. Then, intoxicated as she is with wine, one of her closest relatives comes up, and, shoving her with his hand, throws her into the pit; and they thus burn her alive there, so that she has to suffer torments in this life and yet greater pain in the next." It must be added, though, that this writer's theological judgment on the individual woman's culpability was far too severe. For one of the most outstanding early Christian writers, St. Jerome, had, in the face of attack against the Christian ideal of renunciation of marriage by those who felt the call to it, appealed, prescinding for the moment from its morality, precisely to the example of Indian widows who in testimony of their conjugal fidelity burnt themselves, thereby renouncing a second marriage.[40]

Next, there was the custom of maintaining temple women, which today comes to a limited extent under Indian penal law.[41] The Christian priests expressed their judgment in this regard by describing as "accessible free of charge to those who wanted to sin with them" the widows who shrank from the pyre, and so found themselves obliged to take refuge in the temple of Malsadevi at Mardol in Salsette.[42] Neither were the

explanations which they heard such as to enable them to understand the religious sanction accorded to the practice. For one temple priest told a Dominican inquirer, "It is true that propriety is estimable everywhere, but this which surprises you so much is a very ancient custom among us." And with that, he just turned on his heel and walked away." [43]

There was, too, belief in soothsaying, which could entail tragic consequences for a defenceless new-born life, as the following example will show. In 1561, and, therefore, precisely in the years when the policy of excluding Hindu ministers from the Islands was in force, some soothsayers augured that a baby whose mother had died in childbirth would one day destroy its father and other members of the family just as it had its mother. The father was actually going to choke the child and throw it into the river, when a Jesuit student who happened to be there intervened; a Christian neighbour accepted to bring up the child as his own. At other times, parental love proved strong enough to make it seem preferable to hand the child over to Christians.[44] It suffices to point out that these sixteenth century accounts have been corroborated by the studies of P. V. Kane who writes: "What firm grip astrological considerations had on the minds of the people and writers on astrology is demonstrated by certain rules in astrological works about a child's birth . . . how it was recommended that the innocent and helpless infant born on these supposed unlucky times should be abandoned in spite of what love and pity should dictate." [45]

Lastly, there were at certain feasts self-immolations which, besides the well-known one of being crushed under chariot wheels, included the following types which used to take place in Salsette. In front of certain temples there stood masts from which sharp iron hooks dangled from massive chains. The voluntary victims climbed up and let themselves be transfixed sideways, and hung there writhing in the air till they breathed their last. Others had themselves raised up with cords high in the air, and were thence dashed against the ground. Our sources do not say anything about the motive behind these self-immolations. The custom of being dashed against the ground may, however, have been connected with a reason similar to that which, till the last century, prompted young men to throw themselves from a high cliff in the Mahadeva hills in

Central India. A childless woman would, as a last resort, promise her first-born, if a male, to Shiva or Mahadeva. If her wish was fulfilled she would disclose her vow to her son on his reaching puberty: he would then go on pilgrimage to various shrines and make his way to the Mahadeva hills at the time of the annual festival.[46] It is understandable, then, that Joao dos Santos should have reflected, "Hence, one can see how much reason the Christians have to be grateful to God for bringing them into the bosom of His Church and giving them a knowledge of Himself and His gentle law by which they can attain true happiness."[47] Today it is, of course, possible to say that it was a mistake for those priests to think that what they could not approve of was inseparably linked with Hindu temples and worship.

There was yet another reason why those priests believed they could not permit temples and Hindu images if it could be helped. For Christians had been for a long time convinced that in their lands they could allow forms of worship other than Christian and Jewish only when otherwise resentment might be created. Such was even the view of the greatest master of the Christian Middle Ages, Thomas Aquinas.[48] The authors of rigour in Goa were not unmindful of this traditional counsel of prudence. But if Miguel Vaz can speak for them all, they were convinced that in the circumstances their degree of rigour would at most cause some slight resentment, and that even this would "immediately disappear when they see the divine effects which will follow from these beginnings."[49] It is interesting to observe that the classical Indian law books, too, regard the King as the guardian not only of his people's temporal well-being but also of Dharma or Religion as interpreted to him by his accredited spiritual advisers.[50] Against this background it is easy to understand that, as reported by Paulo da Trindade, the counsellors of Emperor Rama Raya of Vijayanagar (1543-64) should have advised him to invade the Portuguese settlement of Mylapore in order to avenge the affront done to his gods by the erection of Christian churches on his own soil.[51] This point is evidently bound up with the relation of the State to public morality, which will be taken up in the appendix on the Inquisition.

We have next to examine the steps taken to make the position of certain members of the upper classes difficult, and even to get them expelled. Now in the previous chapter it was pointed out that there was a close bond between the Portuguese Administration and the native administrative class, and how there were complaints that both of them oppressed the poor. We saw, too, how, from what Moreland has to say of conditions about the same time in the Mughal Empire, there is no reason to assume that these charges were groundless. The Acts of the Provincial Council of 1567 include a decree which, though probably referring primarily to Bardez and Salsette, shows none the less that in the Islands, too, the Christians might have been dealt with less than fairly when they were still few. For the decree, which in its turn is not free from partiality, complains of the unfairness shown to Christians and insists that the village common lands should be leased out in keeping with custom, that preference be given to a Christian so long as a Hindu did not bid higher, that the local tax collector should be a Christian, and that the common village services be divided proportionately between Hindus and Christians.[52]

Indeed, the charges come from too many and too diverse sources to be disregarded. Already in 1522 Bishop Duarte Nunes, even while suggesting the demolition of the temples, stated plainly that the people did not become Christians "because they see our evil lives and that we do not act as we preach."[53] His meaning becomes clear when we hear from later priests that the bond between the Portuguese and the native functionaries consisted in the latter enabling the former to get rich irregularly at the people's expense. Nor was it only the priests who made this charge; for in 1529 the City Council of Goa informed the King that the native functionaries, through their control over the financial system, harassed the population with the connivance of high Portuguese officials. Further confirmation comes from Governor Joao de Castro, who, in advising the King in 1546 not to make appointments for more than three years, gave as his reason that "no character, however strong, is able to resist for long the avarice and vicious ways which are here indulged in and practised."[54]

Next, we have specific complaints regarding ill-treatment of the poorer Christians. Though Portuguese officials are not

spared in this regard, complaints are specially frequent that certain members of the leading classes exhorted people not to become Christians and harassed those who did. Those who affirm this include Miguel Vaz, Pedro Fernandes Sardinha who succeeded him, the Cathedral Chapter, Francis Xavier and other Jesuits, a lay officer by name Martin Alfonso de Melo, and the Confraternity of Holy Faith which included several laymen.[55] As examples, it is sufficient to quote here Alfonso de Melo and the Cathedral Chapter. Alfonso de Melo informed the King in 1541 that more people did not become Christians because "some persons restrain the Gentiles: namely, Krishna, Locu, and Anu Sinai, and some relatives of theirs, who restrain all these Gentiles from becoming Christians." [56] And the Cathedral Chapter averred in 1547 that the people refused to become Christians "until these honoured ones do so, for they ill-treat them very much and molest them greatly, and the people do not dare to speak. These persons possess great influence among them in this matter, and strive to prevent anyone from becoming a Christian." [57] This was the reason why at different times Martin Alfonso de Melo, Miguel Vaz, and the Jesuits sought to have them sent away.[58]

It is necessary to recall here that the Christian priests were ordinarily kind men and that the Jesuits expressly put in a request that Hindus who took refuge in areas of Portuguese influence in South India should be shown as much consideration as Christians, nor be subjected to any toll for entering. Moreover, these men wanted to be conscientious, for even when they advocated rigour they did not forget that they had some obligations towards non-Christians.[59] This suggests that there must have been a special reason for their asking to send away those who kept people back from Christianity. It is that, although they could be friendly towards one who for one reason or other failed to be personally convinced by their arguments, they perhaps lacked the degree of understanding necessary to see that one who had heard their message could with a clear conscience hinder others from accepting it.

This appears from the attitude of the King's Mesa de Consciencia when in 1545 Miguel Vaz suggested measures against the ruler of Jaffnapatam. Briefly, this is what had happened. In September, 1543, Martin Affonso de Sousa sailed

south and exacted tribute from the usurping ruler of Jaffnapatam with whom the people were dissatisfied. About the same time Francis Xavier, who was then in the region of Cape Comorin, had several hundreds of his subjects on the Island of Mannar baptized at their own request. The ruler thereupon, in the words of Xavier, "perpetrated great havoc and cruelty," and as many as six or seven hundred neophytes lost their lives. King John III now wanted to know whether he had to go to war. Three members of the board maintained that, as it was not clear that the Christian message had been explicitly proclaimed to him, there was no just reason for war: it would be enough, they said, to get from him an assurance not to hinder his people from becoming Christians. Three others, however, sustained that he knew quite well that his people had asked for priests and been baptized, and that, nonetheless, he had caused their death: he had, they thought, thereby hindered and even positively attacked the Catholic Faith and given legitimate cause for war. This discussion, besides illustrating the general anxiety to be just, brings out how even those who were against war accepted it as a settled axiom that if one to whom the Christian message had been clearly announced hindered people from becoming Christians or harassed them for doing so, he was thereby being knowingly unjust, and so rendered himself liable to the consequences. This was a position accepted in that epoch even by men like Francisco Vitoria and Francisco Suarez, who laid the foundations of modern international law. Their argument was that all men are bound together by fellowship and are, therefore, both obliged and entitled to enter into communication with one another, which includes the right to communicate one's upright convictions. If this right is denied, they argued, it can be enforced in the interests of human fellowship.[60]

It is now time to ask ourselves how far this policy was effective. The answer is that in this period it failed to secure the support of the Portuguese Indian Administration. The instructions which Miguel Vaz came out with in 1546 were discussed in Council, and, with but a few exceptions, it was decided not to enforce them. Lucena, the early Jesuit biographer of Francis Xavier, suggests that the reason might have been either that the measures were then felt to be inopportune or that the

interests of particular individuals would have suffered.[61] We shall soon see that even conscientious members of the Administration judged the policy to be inopportune; but we can now also say that Lucena's other conjecture was not unfounded, for among the recently published letters of Governor Joao de Castro there is one to his son, written shortly after Miguel Vaz's return, where he warns and promises him as follows: "See what it is to take bribes and gifts. I promise you to play the Bishop a trick—let him then exhort and command through Miguel Vaz, the Vicar General, that I should keep him by my side and do many things which the King our lord commands."[62]

Consequently, although the Bishop and some of his collaborators acted on the authorisation to search houses, they do not seem to have had the Administration's full support, as the following example will show. Some time in September, 1548, the Bishop, sure that there was something to be found in the house of a prominent Hindu of Divar, ordered a search. A basket full of books was discovered. Krishna's son, Dadaji, secured an order from the Governor, to have the books restored and personally accompanied the Governor's messenger into the Bishop's presence. What followed is best described in the sick old Bishop's own words. "I could not," he wrote to the King, "brook in my heart the affront in this manner. I rose from my chair without a word, seized a stick which lay by my side, and, in spite of my age, ran after him the whole length of the room and hall. Since he was young, he ran faster than I and reached the gate which gives on the street. As I neared the gate, I thought to hit him in the ribs with the stick. The gate was low, and so the stick struck against the gate and broke in two." The Bishop then turned to the messenger and, alluding to the difference between himself and the Bishops without jurisdiction who had preceded him, asked him to tell his master that he had come out "to promote the Catholic Faith of Jesus Christ . . . as for conferring Orders and giving slaps to children at Confirmation anyone can do that."[63]

As for the authorisation to expel certain people, it was, indeed, acted upon by Governor George Cabral (1549-50) with the full support of Cosme Anes, the then head of the Treasury Department. But we know neither their number nor the circumstances in which they were sent out.[64]

The Administration's caution together with the influence of the native administrative class even seemed to succeed in reversing this policy when in 1555 the newly installed Governor, Francisco Barreto, once again permitted widow burning, the customary public ceremonies and festivities of a Hindu marriage, and the auctioning of slaves who became Christians so that the non-Christian owners could be compensated with the price paid by the Christian buyer, whereas previously such slaves had to be freed outright. The Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits protested in vain. They then thought of sending a joint protest to the King, but the first two Orders changed their mind, and the idea had to be dropped. And it looks as though widow burning remained legally permitted for a couple of years; for in 1557 we hear of three widows being rescued, while there is no mention of steps being taken against the authors of the rite.[65]

The reaction of the native administrative class to all this is recorded in a letter which Azu Naik, a Hindu from Bassein in the Crown's employ, wrote to the King in 1549. Such was the regard he enjoyed that he had received a personal message from John III, suggesting to him to become a Christian. To that he now replied that it was best for the King not to make any such suggestion. "For there is," he said, "one only God in whom all believe, and He is indeed very merciful to those whom by His grace He wants to lead in the way of truth, and this belongs to Him alone." Next, in criticism of what was happening, he assured the King that even if one were disposed to become a Christian, one would not do so under compulsion for fear of the reproach of having yielded to threats. His own advice was as follows: "When the territories of Your Highness are well peopled and developed by native inhabitants, they are a source of profit and revenue: and it is out of this that India and the churches are maintained. There is a great difference between a Friar's life and work and that of a King. There is a similar difference between civil government and ecclesiastical affairs. For the main thing is the taxes that are realized from these lands and are paid by the inhabitants of the place: out of these, as I say, churches are maintained. The King's Government ought to care well for such people, and neither allow nor authorize any violence or injury against them. Rather should favour

be shown them and authorization given to reside there secure in their customs. And he who freely wishes to become a Christian will do so, as has been happening all along till now." Then, alluding perhaps to the protection granted in Rome to Jews, many of whom even were as doctors and musicians high in the personal service of Pope Leo X (1513-21),[66] Azu Naik remonstrated: "Your Highness should not wish to have everything accomplished in one hour. For in Rome where the Holy Father is, he permits in his lands all kinds of people, nor does he send them away thence if they do not want to become Christians. Since this is so, why should they act in Goa as they do?" [67]

Azu Naik was not unaware of the reason alleged for having some sent out. To that he replied as follows: "Let none tell Your Highness that if the leading persons are expelled from Goa, the others will become Christians. For by this time many people in Goa have become Christians, and some of them are related to these leading persons, who never hindered them. And day by day more people do so, because they live among Christians. If they are expelled, they will have no more dealings and contact with Christians and Portuguese, and so will never become Christians. And if the leading persons are expelled, the people will perhaps follow them." [68]

Here we must pause to consider a few points. Firstly, Azu Naik's reference to conditions in Rome suggests that he was drawing his inspiration from Portuguese critics. Again, we have seen above complaints which cannot be easily dismissed that some from among the ruling class harassed poor Christians. What Azu Naik has now to say suggests that persons from the leading classes were left unmolested on becoming Christians, but he makes no attempt to meet the complaints with regard to the poor.

Of interest, too, is Azu Naik's remonstrance against the law which obliged non-Christian owners to set free without compensation slaves who became Christians. "If the slaves of Christians," he said, "are not freed on becoming Christians, but remain whose slaves they are, why should Gentiles and Muslims lose their money? Granted that they cannot retain them as slaves for being Christians of Your Highness. You want them to be free. Then order compensation to be paid, or let them be sold to Christians and the price be made over to the owners."

This appeal was not in vain. For when in 1555 Francisco Barreto ruled that such slaves be auctioned and the owners compensated, John III upheld the provision. On the other hand, the Religious wanted such slaves to be freed outright because such was the law in Christian antiquity, as appears from a passage in Justinian's Code, which says that if non-Catholics "have slaves who are not yet Christians but want to be, let them be freed outright . . . and let not the masters receive any compensation for them." [69]

Lastly, Azu Naik told the King what he thought about the authors of rigour. "Not all agree," he wrote, "with the novel thing that is being done in Goa. For all think that what is being done is neither unto God's service nor that of Your Highness. It is only the Bishop. And he has no concern for the territories, since neither he nor the other Fathers have to take up arms and fight in defence of the lands. Neither do they contribute to the revenue of Your Highness, but rather eat it up. And the Governor agrees to this policy lest they write ill about himself to Your Highness." [70]

However, the concern felt by the Portuguese Administration was not all due to love of personal gain; for it was also shared by Simao Botelho, twice Treasurer to the Government in the years 1545-54, a man generally esteemed for his integrity, of whom Francis Xavier himself said, "he is a man of admirable character and is a friend of God and truth." He personally did what he could to help the Christians and was to end his days as a zealous gentle Dominican Friar.[71] In 1552 he wrote to tell the King: "Some [Religious] wish to favour the cause of Christianity so much that a great part of the revenue is lost and the lands are being deserted, specially those of Bassein. I well believe that they proceed in everything with holy zeal and true, and that Our Lord and Your Highness will be well served thereby. But I think they could follow in this a middle path, and perhaps it would be better; for there are some who often wish to make Christians by force and harass Gentiles so much that, as I say, it is the reason for the land being abandoned." [72] As Treasurer, Simao Botelho must have participated in the deliberations of the Council of State, when it was decided not to give effect to John III's instructions to Governor Joao de Castro.

Hence, the correctness of Lucena's comment that they might also have been rejected as being inopportune.

We can, in a measure, gauge the accuracy of these criticisms by trying to learn what we can of the attitude of the people at large. Friar Antonio Louro and Bishop Duarte Nunes are the earliest to tell us that the people were ready to become Christians. The reason given by the former anticipated the phrase 'rice Christians' of our own day; for he wrote to King Manuel I in 1518, "It seems to me, Sire, if you assign a quantity of rice to be given as alms to such of these Gentiles as become Christians, conversions will multiply rapidly."[73] It is enough to observe here that the Friar does not attribute the highest motive to the people's readiness to become Christians, but he does testify to such a readiness; how far his understanding of their motive is correct will be examined in Chapter VI. As for Bishop Duarte, he tells us that the people were docile to persuasion and were kept back not so much by religious conviction, as by the bad conduct of the Portuguese and by their regard for their forefathers and ancient custom.[74]

Although the Bishop does not explain his reasons for thinking thus, it may well have been due to experiences similar to that of Affonso d'Albuquerque. For when the latter attempted to persuade the King of Cochin to become a Christian, he was told that "God placed in the shadow of these mountains this bit of land called Malabar and willed that they should remain Gentiles and live according to their customs." Albuquerque thereupon argued back: "If that were true, who would find in the land of Malabar the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ and his Cross, and so many villages of Christians and churches built like ours?" Then, appealing to the St. Thomas tradition he said that the King "knew very well that Our Lord by his power sent to these parts his apostle and disciple St. Thomas, who converted many Gentiles to his Faith and lay buried in India." The King appeared to agree, but finally objected that if he were to become a Christian his people would not tolerate it.[75]

And the fact is that in Goa a movement towards Christianity began already in these early years, when those who became Christians could, while hoping for protection, also expect hardships. Thus about 1526 an entire village became Christian. Some three years later, the secretary of the Municipal Council

of Goa described the situation by saying, "Many people of the land are becoming and have become Christians." Indeed, the people of Daugim at the eastern extremity of Tisvadi spontaneously pulled down their temple, became Christians, and asked for a church of the Mother of Jesus to be erected on the site. This, too, was the reason why Castello Branco approached the villagers for the erstwhile temple revenues.[76]

Several reports of this movement reached Portugal and influenced the King's spiritual counsellors. These reports also inspired Xavier to set out with that enthusiasm which he expressed thus to his companions in Rome: "According to the facility which exists in those lands to convert souls—and this is what all who have been there for many years say—we hope in God Our Lord to do very fruitful work." And after an initial stay of four months in Goa his own observation seemed to confirm this idea. For in September, 1542, he wrote for more men, of whom some, he said, "might be occupied in fostering contact with the Gentiles of this island, for they are sure to convert many." [77]

Confirmation about the people's disposition comes from none other than Azu Naik himself. While warning the King against the policy of rigour, he added: "We all hold that there is to be only one Law, and at present I see none to which all can turn except that of the Christians. But the time of realisation has not yet come. From now on till then, people will become Christians little by little, and since the Lord God has willed to grant this interval, Your Highness should not exert pressure either." [78] Francis Xavier, too, was told something very similar by a friendly Vaishnava in South India. "He told me," writes Xavier, "that the law of nature forbids them plurality of wives, and that their Scriptures teach that a time will come when all will live under one law." [79] Azu Naik and Xavier's friend might have been alluding to the classical Indian belief that we are now living in the fourth and most degenerate age or Kaliyuga, at the end of which the universe will be dissolved in preparation for a return to the first age or Kritayuga, which is thus described in the Mahabharata: "At that period the castes, alike in their functions, fulfilled their duties, were incessantly devoted to one Deity and used one Mantra, one rule and one rite. They had but one Veda." [80] In fact, some later

Christian priests liked to think that this ancient belief was a divine testimony vouchsafed to India's soul in order that it might in due time recognise the message of Jesus.[81] This disposition of the people would explain why Miguel Vaz felt that even if some slight resentment were caused by his method, it would soon disappear in the wake of subsequent religious experience.

The people's readiness afforded a good opportunity for street preaching, and the Jesuits availed themselves of it. They had been supplying the teaching staff of St. Paul's College since 1542; in 1548 the only original member of the Confraternity of Holy Faith who then seems to have been in Goa made over to them the administration as well. Two of them now went about the city making their boys declare the Christian message in the native tongue to a people whose response they found encouraging.[82]

At this juncture, the head farmer of taxes, Loku, who had been prominent among those who exhorted the people not to become Christians, himself became one. The Dutch Jesuit, Gaspar Berze, who was instrumental in bringing this about and who shared with others of his time the view that a person who had heard the Christian message could not with a clear conscience hinder others from accepting it, took, nevertheless, a kindly view of Loku. He tells us that he had been a rich man with an annual income of 6,060 *pardaos* and had been freely helping good causes. "He was so liberal," he writes, "that he thought nothing of condoning 1,000 *pardaos*; he spent much of his substance in alms, and one of the reasons, it seems to me, why God remembered him was his good works." [83]

In 1548 he fell on evil days and was put in prison for alleged failure to pay his dues to the Government. Gaspar Berze, who was accustomed to go there often, engaged him and Dadaji, who happened to be there on a visit, in religious discussion. Berze himself thus describes what followed: "Our Lord gave me the courage to accost them. We discussed a long while about their Law, and I proved to him some of the things in our Law which he desired me prove to him. I gave him some comparisons and arguments from natural reason according to his way of thinking. And finally, after winning the argument several times, I told them a few things and asked them to

ponder them over, and to pray Our Lord to enlighten their minds and give them understanding and knowledge of the truth in order to follow it. The son of Krishna laughed at me a little, but I found Loku better disposed. And, indeed, two days later he sent a message to Dr. Antonio Gomez [the Rector of St. Paul's] saying that he wished to become a Christian . . . he placed himself in his hands asking for the water of baptism and saying that he should help him to save his soul, for only the salvation of his soul moved him to become a Christian; and that he did not want it to appear that he entertained the thought of being freed or had anything else in view; that he wished justice to be done in all else." Antonio Gomez on his own secured the man's release; and, after a brief preparation, he was received into the Church together with his wife and four others, two of whom were village elders. The baptism was celebrated with great pomp and was attended by several leading Hindus. Lucas, as Loku was now called, was immediately appointed chief thanadar in place of Krishna whom we find at this time as a prisoner in Bijapur, whither he had been sent with a Portuguese embassy. However, it is just as well to add that, in keeping with Loku's own express declaration, the case against him was not withdrawn. It was first tried in the time of Viceroy Afonso de Noronha (1550-54), and the majority verdict went against the Crown. But since the assessors strongly protested, the Viceroy did not pronounce final sentence. There was a fresh trial under Francisco Barreto (1555-58). This time, because of the pronounced partiality of the Bench for the Crown, as it seemed to Barreto, the heirs and sureties of Loku were sentenced to a fine of more than 20,000 pardaos. Barreto, therefore, prayed the King to remit two-thirds of the sum because the sureties were all poor men.[84]

Loku's example still further stimulated the movement of the common people towards Christianity, and they now began to say that "since the father had become a Christian, they, the children, had all to do the same." In 1548, between January and November, 912 non-Christians were baptised in three city parishes alone. The same thing was happening at St. Paul's, though we have no record of the number. And in various other parts of the island, including the village of Carambolim, there were 300 baptisms. By 1552 the Christian message was conveyed

to the people through children, both those who attended the free elementary school which the Jesuits at Francis Xavier's orders now conducted for poor boys at St. Paul's and those who gathered at the same place every afternoon for religious instruction. They were taught to sing snatches of Christian doctrine on their way to and from school. But though people continued in this way to become Christians, it was felt that the process was slow because of the ill-treatment poorer Christians had to endure.[85]

Our information for Chorao deserves special attention because of what is going to happen there in the years 1559-60. Already by 1552 it had a church dedicated to the Mother of Jesus, and the Christians numbered 300 out of an estimated population of 3,000. Viceroy Afonso de Noronha donated a large piece of land close to the church so that Christians who had no homes of their own could be settled there and their instruction better attended to. Chosen ones were given in ownership portions of land which had been bought through the kindness of benefactors. In the course of 1556 the number of baptisms rose to 50, and it was believed that with continued kindness the entire island would shortly become Christian. Most interesting of all, this estimate was accepted at the time by Antonio de Heredia, the Jesuit whom we met in the beginning of this chapter. He disembarked at Goa in the beginning of September, 1551, and spent there a fortnight before proceeding to Cochin. On the subject of Chorao he expressed agreement with his brother Jesuits and wrote to Ignatius Loyola that "the rest of the island can be easily won for Christ." [86]

The problem of how far acceptance of Christianity was due to conviction will recur in more than one form subsequently. But for the sake of completeness, it is just as well to add that we have in this period examples which, for being unattended by circumstances similar to Loku's, show all the more clearly that earnest conviction was not absent. Thus, in 1556 there presented himself at St. Paul's a well-to-do person from the mainland. He had wandered long in search of spiritual rest and finally concluded that he could find it in Jesus Christ alone. He started out with eight servants. Most of them, however, turned back, so that he reached St. Paul's with only two of them.[87]

We have seen how both Azu Naik and Simao Botelho feared that rigour was driving away people, and that revenue would consequently decline. It is possible to verify this criticism by examining the annual returns for the years 1543-54, which Simao Botelho himself has recorded for us. Customs revenue, he tells us, did not yield much at the time of the capture of the Islands; it went on continually increasing till in 1543 and 1544 it was farmed for 50,000 pardaos, for 70,500 in the years 1545-47, and for 68,000 in 1548; but in these last two instances the full amount was not realised because of wars and because the price of farming was excessive; from 1549 to 1551 it fetched 68,000 and 60,000 from 1552 to 1554. Revenue from textile shops from being 1,060 pardaos in the years 1545-47 declined to 600 in 1550, then rose to 650 in 1551, and to 750 in the years 1552-53. That from grocers' shops rose from 3,250 pardaos in 1543 and 1544 to 4,400 in the period 1545-48, declined to 3,520 in 1549, and then ascended steadily to 3,875 in 1550, 4,200 in 1551, and 4,800 in the years 1552-53. Revenue from betel at first rose from 4,210 pardaos in 1543 and 1544 to 4,500 in the period 1545-48, then yet further to 5,300 in 1549 and 1550, it then declined to 4,525 in 1551, but rose slightly to 4,575 in 1552 and 1553.[88] From this it appears that, with the exception of returns from textile shops, the figures for later years are higher than those for earlier years. Which rather suggests that farmers found it profitable to engage in such contracts; and this in turn leads one to infer that the rigour was not such as to disturb the population as a whole.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEBATE ROUND THE RIGOUR OF MERCY

TOWARDS the end of November, 1548, Bishop Albuquerque wrote to King John III as follows: "After the grace of personal salvation, the only thing I ask Our Lord is to let me see this whole island become Christian, for then I shall die in peace."[1] However, the Bishop passed away early in 1553, four years before the inception of the quinquennium which saw his wish fulfilled. And since the Rigour of Mercy, which played a part in bringing this about, gave rise to a serious debate, it is with that debate we have first to concern ourselves. As in the previous chapter, it is before all necessary to see what sort of men the chief figures in this episode were. They comprise Heads of Government, diocesan Heads, and members of Religious Orders.

To begin with the Heads of Government, we possess brief character sketches of them by the chronicler Diego de Couto, who personally knew the subjects of this part of his work[2] and whose writing is throughout impartial and refreshingly free from any exaggerated nationalism. We have an example of this in the way he praises the magnanimity of Emperor Rama Raya of Vijayanagar when the Portuguese settlement of Mylapore surrendered to him in 1559. The Emperor let the inhabitants have all their belongings on immediate payment of just half the ransom, and later released even the hostages on their sole word that the remainder would be paid. Couto thereupon remarks: "And we certainly doubt whether such humanity and justice is to be found among Christians, whose obligation in this regard is all the greater."[3]

Of Francisco Barreto who succeeded as Governor in 1555 and who initiated our quinquennium Couto says: "This courtier was throughout a great person, and the Kings always availed themselves of him for great enterprises."[4]

Our annalist has more to say of Barreto's successor, Viceroy Constantino de Bragança (1558-61), and his estimate deserves attention, for though the favourable descriptions given of this Viceroy by the Jesuits cannot be accepted without hesitation coming as they do from people who had to thank him for the support he gave them,[5] the same cannot be said of Couto. Indeed, even though Couto had been a pupil of the Jesuits and later lived on friendly terms with them at Goa,[6] he criticised them freely when he felt he ought to. Thus, after telling us how the Jesuit who was assigned as adviser to Francisco Barreto on his expedition into the interior of East Africa in 1571 first obliged him to take the more dangerous route and then forbade him to continue, thereby causing his breakdown and death, Couto goes on to comment: "It is best not to speak about his death, except relate the event as it occurred. For I could say much, but this will neither restore him to life nor finally stop Religious from meddling in secular government, of which they are ignorant, because they never learnt it." Then in words similar to Azu Naik's he goes on: "It is one thing to pray, say Mass, and hear confessions, and quite another to manage military matters and direct affairs of State. Nor will their Superiors ever remedy this, for all that their attention has been drawn to it many times."[7] It is remarkable, then, that Couto's description of Constantino de Bragança should so nearly coincide with that of the Jesuits. "He was," he writes, "a man of medium stature, stout, broad-shouldered, bearded, well-bred, mild, affable, a great promoter of the cause of Religion, a great friend of justice, truthful, chaste, at least always so careful as never to give reason for scandal."[8]

The next Viceroy, Francisco de Coutinho, Count of Redondo (1561-64), had in the beginning an unfavourable impression of the way things had been done under Bragança, and hence the interest attaching to what Couto has to say of him. "He was," he says, "a person well fitted for the post of Viceroy of India by reason of his many qualities of foresight, prudence, and determination, of all of which he had given abundant proof over a long period."[9] The Count died suddenly in February, 1564, and government devolved on a certain Joao de Mendonça who held office till September that year. He showed, indeed,

consideration towards the Jesuits,[10] but we do not know his views on their policy.

And so we come to the last Viceroy of our period, Antao de Noronha (1564-68). On his arrival, he too was partly critical of what had happened under Bragança. It is worth observing therefore that, according to Couto, "he was a courtier of great discernment, capacity for government, and prudence." Couto adds that the residents of Goa received him with real joy "for he was very much liked by them, as they were aware of his ability and qualities, and therefore expected very good government." [11]

In 1558 Goa was made an archdiocese with Cochin and Malacca as suffragans. Of the attitude of the first two Heads of this period we have no evidence. They were Ambrosio Ribeiro and Jorge de Santa Luzia, first Bishop of Malacca. The former took over as Administrator on the death of Bishop Albuquerque, while the latter stopped in Goa on his way to Malacca and managed its affairs from September 1559 till 1 December 1560, when the first Archbishop of Goa, Gaspar de Leao Pereira, entered the city.[12] Since Archbishop Gaspar did not at first approve of some of the ways in which people were made Christians, it is worth noting that Couto, even while being critical of him in some places, says that he regarded him as very virtuous, honourable, and a great theologian. He resigned his See during the first Provincial Council in 1567, but was, on the death of his successor, required to resume it in 1574 and ruled till his death in August, 1576.[13]

And that brings us to the Religious. We have indeed little contemporary information regarding the Dominicans and Franciscans, but we are sufficiently well informed regarding the most prominent among the Jesuits; and it was these that critics reproached with being the first to embark on the methods which resulted in the almost total christianisation of the Islands.[14] Nor did the Jesuits deny it, inasmuch as their Provincial stated in 1563 that the Islands then counted 70,000 Christians, comprising almost the entire population, and that this had been effected in the years 1557-63 "partly by members of the Society, partly by others who were spurred on to emulate their example." [15]

The reason why the Jesuits here played a prominent part is the opinion entertained about them at Court. They had been in India barely a decade, when several favourable reports about them reached Portugal. Thus, in 1547 Cosme Anes, then Treasurer to the Government, informed the King that though some of the Jesuits had acted inconsiderately, "there is no fault in their lives, but all is true zeal and virtue." [16] In 1548 Bishop Albuquerque in person assured the King that if he and the Jesuits were given a free hand, they would together within a year or two entirely christianise the Islands. The following year Miguel Vaz's successor, Pedro Fernandes Sardinha, who was soon to be the first Bishop of Brasil, told the King that the Jesuits were by their lives and zeal well fitted to announce the message of Jesus. The effect of these reports appeared in 1550, when the Court decided to instruct its Indian Administration to act on the advice of the Jesuits in all that concerned religion and correction of moral abuses.[17]

Henceforth it became usual for the Jesuits every year to approach the Court on this subject. Their advice decisively influenced the instructions issued to Constantino de Bragança, Francisco Coutinho, and Antao de Noronha. For instance, as the first of these was about to leave for the East in 1558, the Lisbon Jesuit charged with the eastern affairs of his Order informed his Provincial as follows: "The discussions regarding India have gone well. . . . The proposals about Christians and conversion have been discussed. What could be then and there decided was decided; the rest was left to Don Constantino. And the Secretary says that he scarcely carries an instruction in which there is no mention of the Society." [18] Again, immediately after Viceroy Antao de Noronha sailed from Lisbon in March 1564, the same Jesuit informed thus his Superiors at Rome: "The King commended very much to his care the work of conversion and all the rest about which we presented memoranda, as is done every year; and there are instructions to that effect among those given him by His Highness." [19]

Turning now from Portugal to the Goa Jesuits, we find that the following are the most prominently connected with our subject: Joao Nunes Barreto, Melchior Carneiro, Antonio de Quadros, Gonçalo da Silveira, Francisco Rodrigues, Pedro d'Almeida, and Melchior Nunes Barreto. The last two came

out to India in 1551, while the others did so in the years 1555 and 1556. The first three were originally appointed to the difficult Ethiopian mission, Joao Nunes Barreto being sent out as Patriarch, Carneiro as his Coadjutor, and Quadros as Superior though only twenty-six years old at the time. They remained on in Goa, however, because of the difficulty of proceeding to Ethiopia. Silveira and Rodriguez were sent out as Provincial and Rector of St. Paul's respectively. Rodriguez had the added charge of being a sort of assistant to Silveira, and he even came to think of himself as the real Provincial, so that there was at times serious disagreement between them.[20] It is necessary to mention this, for Rodriguez was foremost in initiating our new period. Hence, if he deserved to be criticised, Silveira would have had no reason to keep silent about it. Quadros succeeded Silveira as Provincial in 1559 and remained so till his death in 1572; his, therefore, was the primary responsibility for what the Goa Jesuits did in these years. And lastly, we come to Melchior Nunes Barreto, the younger brother of Joao Nunes Barreto. He became Viceprovincial in 1553 on the death of Gaspar Berze whom Francis Xavier had appointed to that post before leaving Goa for the last time in April 1552. In 1554, however, Melchior Nunes left for Japan, whence he did not return till 1557, and even then, after less than a year's stay in Goa he was transferred to Cochin as Superior of the Jesuit house there. In 1565 he acted as Provincial in place of Quadros, while the latter was away in the Far East, and in that capacity wrote the best account we possess about the condition of the Catholic Church in the East at that date.[21]

And now, we have to see what sort of men these Jesuits were. Our information about them comes from themselves, and hence it is first necessary to evaluate it. The occasion for it was the Order's character, whereby the authority to appoint to office and to admonish a member for his faults is vested solely in the Superior. In keeping with that, the Head of the Order in 1559 required them to supply information about one another and the rest of their brethren in the East.[22] And they did so with a frankness which decidedly gives them an advantage over later historians, who depicted them as though they did not have their share of human frailty.[23] They were, moreover, conscientious; for we see them doing this task quite dispassionately even when

they write about those with whom they had strong differences, as when Silveira informs about Rodriguez.[24]

Let us then first take up those who came out in 1555-56. Regarding Joao Nunes Barreto, we learn that he was in every way a spiritual man, given to prayer, recollection, and study; modest, gentle, and, above all, charitable and humble—so humble that he seemed unmindful of his patriarchal dignity.[25]

Of Melchior Carneiro we are told that he was held in high regard both within and outside the Order. He was virtuous and mortified himself even to the point of excess, so that, even though he suffered from asthma and the stone, he placed on himself a greater burden than he could bear. He was, besides, prudent and discerning. On the other hand, he could be irascible and his zeal for a good cause could get out of control. He could be touchy, too, about being treated with the respect due to his episcopal dignity.[26]

Regarding Antonio de Quadros, it was commonly agreed that, despite his weak health, he was the best possible choice for the post of Provincial. He is described as a man of tried virtue, ability, and unequalled prudence, so fearful of making a mistake that, though himself a man of great discernment, he did not take the least decision without first consulting others. Unaccustomed though these men were to flatter one another, they nevertheless call him an angel of God, and a man according to the heart of the Society and of God. The sincerity of this appreciation, which comes, be it noted, mostly from persons older than himself, appears from the fact that the faults of being too familiar with his subordinates and of being subject to moods of depression are not passed over.[27]

The picture we get of Gonçalo da Silveira is that of a man whose rectitude no one doubted, but who trusted too much to his own judgment and lacked prudence and tact, thereby making himself unpopular both within the Order and outside.[28]

Francisco Rodriguez was a man of some learning, kind and gentle in his ways, and generally liked. To these qualities he joined those of holiness, prudence, zeal, and ability to manage secular affairs. But we are also told that he was haughty, had too high an idea of himself, and was wedded to his own opinion. He exercised, too, considerable influence over Viceroys and Governors, the reason for it being, in Melchior Carneiro's

words, that "the Governors here depend very much for the esteem in which they hope to be held in the [home] Kingdom on the letters written by the Superiors of this College to the King."[29] We saw earlier how Azu Naik informed John III that the Governors were afraid of the unfavourable reports of ecclesiastics; what Carneiro now tell us confirms this and, at the same time, enhances his reliability.

We now come to the two who came out in 1551.

Of Pedro d'Almeida we learn that he was holy, self-sacrificing, and very zealous in propagating Christianity. But we are also told that he was irascible and unlearned. His Rector, Francisco Rodriguez, writes of him as follows: "He has to be called to account every day; for, although very zealous, he does not abound in good judgment and, if given free rein, would commit many mistakes."[30]

On the other hand, Melchior Nunes Barreto is praised for his virtue, prudence, affability, and knowledge of theology and Canon Law. But our informants also tell us that, though appreciated outside the Order, he was not liked by the younger Jesuits because of his roughness with them. Moreover, he did not at first support the policy inaugurated in 1557; but later, as Superior at Cochin, he followed with interest the progress of Christianity in the Goa Islands and, convinced that it was the right thing to do, came out in defence of his colleagues. The confidential reports sent to Rome by two of his advisers in this period when he was Superior enable us to judge the impartiality of the earlier estimates. Both agree that he was held in high esteem because of his learning and that he ruled mildly. But while one of them points out that he was somewhat remiss in matters of government, the other says that he was not a good judge of men and, being himself all goodness, was often deceived.[31]

Such, then, were the Jesuits who initiated the new period. They had their failings, but they were also kind men. They were, besides, mostly men of learning, anxious to avoid wrong and to correct one another's mistakes. Hence, there is all the more reason to consider carefully whether their rigour had not, after all, a very limited character.

And that brings us to the laws themselves.

As said in the previous chapter, on Francisco Barreto's assuming office in 1555 the prohibition against Hindu ceremonies was, despite protests from the Religious Orders, revoked. In 1557, however, Barreto retraced his steps. Explaining this, Souza says that Joao Nunes Barreto, Gonçalo da Silveira, Antonio de Quadros, and Francisco Rodriguez went together to the Governor, and the first of these made an impressive plea for renewing the prohibition and showing special favour to Christians.[32] Souza's version was accepted by Antonio de Noronha in his 'The Hindus of Goa and the Portuguese Republic,'[33] an essay which has influenced several Goan writers.[34] Today it is evident that Souza's version is an imaginative reconstruction rather than sober fact. For the Jesuit annual letter of 1557 tells us that it was Francisco Rodriguez who, seeing what the Christians had to put up with both at the hands of the Portuguese and some members of the leading classes, eventually persuaded the Governor to act as he did. A similar letter of the following year, though, speaks of the intervention of several Jesuits. Valignano at this point closely follows the first letter. It is Gonçalves who, while avoiding Souza's dramatization, affords us a sober and plausible reconstruction by saying that the policy was worked out in common by Joao Nunes Barreto, Melchior Carneiro, Gonçalo da Silveira, Antonio de Quadros, and Francisco Rodriguez, and that the Governor accepted it.[35]

His decrees were as follows: public celebration of Hindu rites and feasts was forbidden under pain of being sentenced to the galleys for life and having all one's possessions confiscated; Hindu orphans below the age of reason who were bereft of both parents and lacked ascendants who could claim wardship over them were to be brought up at St. Paul's until they were old enough to decide their religion for themselves; non-Christians were no more to hold any post in the departments of Justice and Finance under pain of loss of office for the Portuguese who made the appointment and that of imprisonment and confiscation of entire property for the appointee; Portuguese officials as well as village elders were forbidden to give any assignment to a Hindu, and only a Christian could be the head of a guild; the money of Portuguese orphans was not to be lent to non-Christians; lastly, non-Christians were for-

bidden to wear 'Christian' or European dress under pain of being fined two cruzados and having the clothes confiscated.[36]

King John III died in June 1557 and was succeeded by his grandson, King Sebastian; but as he was still a minor, John III's widow, Queen Catherine, and his brother, Cardinal Don Henry, acted as Regents. When the Court now sent out Constantino de Bragança, it instructed him that the acceptance of Christianity by a single soul mattered more than all the spices and riches of the East. The Viceroy, too, on setting foot in Goa in September, 1558, showed by his friendliness towards the local Christians that he was of the same mind.[37]

In March, 1559, Barreto's decrees were revised and sanctioned by the Court.[38] According to one law, Hindu images, whether installed in public or kept in homes, were to be destroyed and it was forbidden to fashion any such of whatsoever material; furthermore, all celebration of what were vaguely called 'public Hindu feasts', whether at home or in the open, was forbidden; Hindu preachers were banned, and so also was the Holi festival, associated in Goa with the goddess Dhunda, believed to be harmful to children;[39] another clause said, "they should not be allowed to burn," by which widow burning and cremation of the dead was meant. The procedure to be followed was also laid down. If anyone suspected that there were Hindu images in a house, he had to inform the Chief Justice, who was then required to consult the Archbishop and proceed according to the law. The officers of the law could institute a search only on receiving a warrant from the Chief Justice, but where violation was flagrant and public they could arrest forthwith. Any person against whom a charge was proved was liable to be sent to the galleys for life and to have his property confiscated, one-half going to the informer and the other half to the church of the locality where the violation occurred.[40]

A second law laid down that Hindu orphans below the age of reason who were bereft of both parents as well as grandparents and other ascendants were to be given into the custody of the Jesuits by the Judge of Orphans, so that they might be baptised and brought up as Christians and, eventually, settled in life. The Jesuits were to entrust to some other Religious Order those whom they could not for lack of room take in at St. Paul's.[41]

Yet a third law forbade the Departments of Justice and Finance to employ a non-Christian if it could be helped. Infringement of this law meant loss of office for the appointing official, and loss of liberty and property for the appointee. Non-Christians actually in employ at the time had to be forthwith dismissed and capable Christians substituted in their place, or else the above penalties would be incurred. Similarly, only a Christian could be the head of a guild. However, in contrast to Barreto's law, this one did not explicitly forbid village elders to give assignments to persons of their choice. A last clause modified Barreto's law on the subject of dress, in that it exempted non-Christians from penalty of any sort if, together with 'Christian' dress they wore a distinctive mark.[42]

A fourth law dealt with the money of orphans. Whereas Barreto's law spoke only of Portuguese orphans, the present one referred to orphans in general. The reason adduced against lending this money to non-Christians was that these would in turn give it out at interest and use it in other ways then considered wrong in Christian morality. Even in lending such money to Portuguese and native Christians, the Judge of Orphans had first to put them on oath that they would not lend it to non-Christians. If they violated the oath they could be prosecuted, and the Judge himself was liable to a fine of 30 cruzados if he contravened these regulations.[43]

All these laws must have reached Goa with the ships that arrived in the beginning of September, 1559, and we know for certain that the one on Hindu images and kindred subjects was promulgated soon afterwards in October.[44] In February 1560, the Viceroy further decreed that anyone who hindered another from becoming a Christian or gave advice to that effect would be sent to the galleys and have his property confiscated for the benefit of the church of St. Thomas, then being constructed on the eastern outskirts of the city of Goa, as a result of popular devotion aroused by Rama Raya's attack on the Apostle's city of Mylapore the previous year.[45] Another viceregal decree of June, 1560, gave effect to the royal prohibition of widow burning and cremation, though it must be added that Barreto's concession of 1555 must have already ceased by 1559; for at this time we hear of the leading residents of Chorao being refused permission to take the widows with their dead and

burn them on the mainland. The decree forbade the practice not only in the Goa Islands but also, for the first time, in Bardez and Salsette. The penalty for going against the law was confiscation of property and loss of liberty for life.[46]

Some time in 1559 three or four men with the Viceroy's authorisation went over to the Bijapur side and lifted the entire library of a Hindu scholar.[47] Souza has no hesitation about indicating the moral problem raised by this episode, for he comments: "It must have been examined at the time, whether the spoliation was licit. The fact that the Viceroy was approached for permission in order to effect it by government authority shows sufficiently that there was a war on with the Adil Shah."[48] In fact, in those years relations between Bijapur and the Portuguese were strained; thus the action could have been considered as a permissible raid, according to the then accepted view.[49] But in the circumstances, this was simply casuistry pressing a right too far.

These books provided the Religious with an opportunity to acquaint themselves more closely with Hinduism, and, since among the instructions given to Viceroy Bragança there was one that revived the idea of sending out those who were thought to impede Christianity, it was now deemed opportune to first arrange for religious debates. Hence, a government order, while exempting physicians and pharmaceutists maintained at state cost, required the other members of the Hindu intelligentsia to gather on Sunday afternoon at the place of the Dominicans, Franciscans, or Jesuits, depending on the quarter in which they lived. At the Jesuit church the Goan priest of Carambolim, André Vaz, acted as interpreter for those who were imperfectly acquainted with Portuguese. They were thus for an hour confronted with difficulties arising from their religious system. Some indeed became Christians in this way, but most of them remained firm, saying that their learned men were to be found in the kingdom of Vijayanagar and that they themselves were content to live as their ancestors had done. When this had gone on for a year, the Viceroy in April, 1560, decreed the banishment of thirty or forty leading men with their families. Those who had no immovable property had to leave immediately; those who had, were given a month's time to dispose of it. Those who were originally from Bardez and

Salsette could return thither; the others had to leave Portuguese territory. The penalty for failure to comply was life sentence to the galleys and loss of one's property.[50]

In June, 1560, came a decree occasioned by the protest whereby several leading Hindus sent their families and belongings out of the Islands. The decree required goldsmiths, who ranked high in society and ran at this time a hundred and twenty shops, to bring back their families and belongings within ten days or themselves leave the island. The penalty for not complying was life sentence to the galleys and confiscation of property, half going to the informer and half to St. Thomas church.[51] And the previous year, a provision had been passed promising security to certain people of Chorao who had abandoned the land, but at the same time threatening to confiscate their property in accordance with local custom if they did not return within a specified time.[52]

Under Bragança's successor there was at first some mitigation. The new Viceroy consulted Archbishop Gaspar, canonists, and theologians, and they all agreed that this last provision was much too severe. Accordingly, an order of 3 December, 1561, stated that confiscated property would be restored should the owners return within six months; if in the meantime someone had purchased it, the deed was to be annulled and the money refunded.[53]

It will be recalled that there was about 1540 a diocesan ordinance imposing a fine on non-Christians for opening their shops before time on holydays. In 1562 we hear that there had been in the intervening years a wider ordinance forbidding Christians and non-Christians alike to work on Sundays and Church feasts under the maximum penalty of one tanga. However, since on the one hand the Church could not itself try non-Christians, and, on the other, the ecclesiastical procedure would have been too burdensome for Christians, the Vicar-General used to petition the city Magistrate to summarily dispose of these cases. The Archbishop now requested the Viceroy to sanction this procedure for all classes of fines up to a certain amount. Accordingly, a decree of 20 June, 1562, authorised secular courts immediately to give effect to the Vicar-General's petition, when not more than one pardao was involved; when it was more than that, but did not exceed ten pardaos, the secular courts

had to review the records of the case; and if the sum was more than ten pardaos, it was for the Viceroy to decide what was to be done.[54] Another decree of the same day laid down that ecclesiastical courts could not detain any person for more than three days; furthermore, when they made over a prisoner, whether Christian or non-Christian, to the Chief Justice, they had to hand over the records of the case as well; and then, too, it was enjoined that such persons "should not be condemned to sanguinary punishment, but they shall condemn to temporal banishment."[55]

At this moment fresh instructions were issued from Portugal. The Viceroy was in early March, 1563, told to consult the Archbishop, the Jesuits, and whomever else he should choose as to how best to promote the Christian Faith. He was further reminded of King John III's approval of Miguel Vaz's request for the expulsion of certain persons who seemed to impede Christianity; but now an exception was expressly made in favour of those who personally tilled the land provided they abstained from doing anything forbidden by law. For then, it was said, their presence, far from being detrimental, contributed to the common weal. The instructions also expressly brought doctors "as well as other professions such as skilled craftsmen and others" under the law prohibiting government agencies to employ a non-Christian where a Christian was available and where it could be done without detriment to the State.[56]

The last Viceroy of our period, Antao de Noronha, set foot in Goa in September 1564. Acting on his instructions, he issued early in November a fresh orphan law which brought within its ambit orphans up till the age of fourteen who were bereft of direct ascendants; and for the first time girls were expressly mentioned as coming under the law.[57] Later in the month another decree forbade any attempt to win over a Hindu to Islam or the Jewish faith under pain of losing one's property and of being sentenced to the galleys for life; the same penalty was prescribed for the Hindu who let himself be so won over.[58] Another decree of February, 1565, directed thanadars who were charged with recruiting mariners for the navy to first select Hindus and to call up Christians in order only to make up the required number.[59]

For the sake of completeness, mention may also be made of a Jubilee granted by Pope Pius IV in February, 1563, for though it had nothing to do with the Rigour of Mercy, it did in fact make some Hindus apprehensive. A Jubilee is a solemn proclamation whereby the Pope under certain conditions enables a Christian who has already made his peace with God to obtain complete condonation of the remaining punishment due to sin. To gain this particular Jubilee it was enough to bring a non-Christian into the Church.[60]

As in the period of origin, so now also this policy met with opposition. In Barreto's time several Portuguese officials protested that without the help of Hindus it was impossible for them to discharge their duties.[61] Barreto, however, with the counsel of Francisco Rodriguez, stood his ground. But on his return to Portugal in 1561, he too joined the critics and judged the Goa Jesuits unfavourably. The other Religious Orders also seem to have at first publicly disagreed with the Jesuits, but soon fell in with their ideas and henceforth acted with them.[62]

Constantino de Bragança, too, was warned by high persons that there was serious danger of revenue losses if he persisted in his course. However, true to his instructions, he replied that the poorest soul mattered more than all the revenue. In fact, some leading members of the native administrative and commercial classes, as well as of the medical and military professions, left for some Hindu or Muslim kingdom. Others remained to carry on their business but sent out their families and belongings. The farmers of revenue, with the support of the Crown attorney, got their contracts rescinded. There were desertions, and the dykes remained unattended to; and as neither the Portuguese officials did the needful, streams got blocked and some of the fields got flooded, Divar being the part specially affected.[63] An attempt will be made in the next chapter to estimate how many people left, and we may, therefore, proceed.

Because of the complaints that people were being made Christians by force, the Viceroy called a meeting of Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits, and they all agreed that as there was nothing reprehensible about their methods, they need not mind what men said, provided they loyally followed their conscience.[64] Opposition nevertheless continued, and when Constantino de Bragança was, on his return home in 1562, somewhat coldly

received, it was interpreted as disapproval of the support he had given to the Religious. The impartial Couto, however, tells us that the real reason was the condition of his country at that date. "Portugal," he writes, "was at that time so spoilt that his government was much criticised; but afterwards people realised that it has been one of the best from that time till now." Bragança, in fact, made himself unpopular by keeping a strict watch over finances and by moving the customs post to where he could watch everything from his window. As was common at the time—and this has to be borne in mind when one speaks of Jesuit influence at Court—some discontented Portuguese sent home unfavourable reports and it began to be rumoured in Lisbon that he was bringing back a huge fortune amassed at the expense of the State. He was actually subjected to the indignity of having his ship seized and searched on arrival in Lisbon.[65]

The next Viceroy, Francisco Coutinho, came out with instructions to attend to the needs of the Jesuits, and did them several favours on reaching Goa. He also held in high regard those of them who came out in his company. However, whether influenced solely by the complaints of the opposition as Valignano avers, or also by his own study of the situation, he soon formed a somewhat unfavourable impression of the methods of the last few years. He arrived on 8 September, 1561, and on 20 December wrote to the Court that he would indeed abide by his orders and show consideration for those who were made Christians in the proper way, but that there were many who had been improperly made, for whom he felt no respect, and part of whom had already gone over to the Bijapur side. By that he evidently meant that many had been baptised without proper instruction.[66] For in the same letter he recounts how at Mozambique there came to him two Africans saying they wanted to become Christians, but that on presenting them to one of the Jesuit companions of his voyage, Francisco de Pina by name, the latter refused to baptise them until they had first understood what it was to be a Christian. The Viceroy then comments: "Such are, I say to Your Highness, the Christians I wish for, and such the Fathers in whom I believe."[67] It is all the more remarkable, then, that Pina, after seeing things in Goa for himself, not only did not think that his colleagues were offending against his principle but actually approved of their conduct.[68]

Since we have no information as to the attitude of Governor Joao de Mendonça, we next come to Viceroy Antao de Noronha. He, too, was friendly towards the Jesuits and sought advice from the most prominent of them before leaving Lisbon. The Court gave him instructions similar to those of Francisco Coutinho regarding the promotion of Christianity and the help to be afforded the Jesuits.[69] Arriving in Goa in the beginning of September, 1564,[70] he expressed his mind to the Court barely four months afterwards: he wondered at the zeal of the Jesuits and the fact that nine-tenths of the population was already Christian, but at the same time observed that though there were no open irregularities at the moment, there had been some in the past, while secretly some people who were under the spiritual guidance of the Jesuits still occasionally went about frightening the Hindus. Avoiding all reference to the negligence of Crown officials in repairing the dykes, he said that the fields of Divar and other places were still unreclaimed, with consequent loss of revenue, but that he now meant to remedy this. The excessive zeal of the Jesuits, he said, was being blamed for all this, though he gave it as his opinion that by their devotion to duty and self-sacrifice they did real good.[71]

His praise of the Jesuits notwithstanding, the Viceroy did not hesitate to get arrested and tried as disturbers of the peace those who were accused of misdemeanour. It is known, however, that the trials showed the allegations to be false. For Melchior Nunes Barreto informed the Provincial of Portugal in 1566: "The devil . . . does all he can to disturb this work by means of the vexations and annoyances which the Department of Justice causes us. As when they arrested some persons who were promoting this work of christianisation, the arrests being on the charge of disturbing the peace. But after thorough inquiry it was found that there was nothing of the sort." He then concluded, "if this work were not of God, I do not know who could go ahead with it."[72]

We have thus far seen how opposition manifested itself under the various Viceroys and Governors, and have next to consider the reasons which moved some Portuguese officials to take this stand. They are to be found in a letter written to the Court in December, 1559, by an official of the Finance Department, Manuel Nunez by name. He had failed to secure from

Constantino de Bragança a post which had been conferred on him by royal patent, but to which the actual holder was entitled for life. He now made against the Viceroy various charges, which enable us to understand how it came to be believed in Portugal that he was defrauding the State.[73] He also gives us an idea of how the critics in the Administration were depicting matters. For Nunez writes: "The Fathers of the Society alone were at first the authors of this policy. And because it seems that more account was made of fame than doing good, besides vexing and harassing the Gentiles in other ways in order to oblige them to agree to be baptised, they forcibly clipped the hair of many of them and made them eat cow's flesh and sin against other superstitions and rites of their idolatry, so that most of them fled."[74] Then, with arguments remarkably similar to those of Azu Naik a decade earlier, he goes on: "This Province, like all others which kings possess far from their control and rule through their governors, needs a light and soft yoke; the administration, liberal rather than avaricious; the methods which help to sustain it, favoured; the treatment of the various foreign nations which frequent and enrich it with their commerce, easy and pleasant in conformity with their customs; the Christian religion, in places so far removed from Christendom and amidst such diverse non-Christian sects, simple and plain and tolerant, without rigour or excessively narrow views, which scandalise rather than edify, so that we are hated and shunned by peoples from far and near who are wont to do business in this our State, and help to make it prosperous and rich with their trade as well as with their loans when needed. Because our priests at San Thomé [Mylapore] desecrated the temples of the Gentiles, it came about that they did the same to our temple there and carried away the men and women of that settlement into captivity, and obtained fifty thousand pardaos as ransom."[75] Again, after saying that most of the Hindus fled as a result of what he described as downright forced conversion, Nunez went on: "And the Portuguese Christians complained because they cannot do without their labour in their palm groves and fields, as well as in other services which cannot be dispensed with here."[76]

Since the next chapter will show how far Nunez is accurate, the following observations will suffice here. The passing refer-

ence to Mylapore gives one the impression that a large number of men and women were led away. We know, however, that Rama Raya dealt kindly with the people and contented himself with twenty-five hostages or so, and even these were soon set free on their sole word of honour.[77] Hence, Nunez's statement that most of the Hindus fled and revenue declined cannot be taken for granted. He indeed says that, when revenue had again to be farmed because the Hindus had rescinded their contracts, it fetched, owing to the deserted state of the islands, 12,000 pardaos less than the previous time. But he also says that, because former governors and rulers had treated Hindus, Muslims, and Christians alike favourably, customs revenue had risen from a meagre 800 pardaos to nearly 80,000 at the time of writing. He thus fails to show that the antipathy said to have been roused by the religious policy as yet affected customs revenue, which so much depended on the goodwill of non-Christian merchants. On the contrary, we learn from a Jesuit source that precisely in the years 1557-66 total revenue went up by more than 40,000 cruzados, a statement which very well agrees with that of Nunez about customs revenue.[78]

We come now to Archbishop Gaspar. When he took possession of his See on 1 December, 1560, he was so friendly towards the Jesuits that he even told them he would do nothing without their advice. Hence, the Jesuit Provincial's first impression was that things would go well. And when the Archbishop was warned by some persons that an attempt was afoot to poison him he forthwith requested the services of a Jesuit brother, or at least that the Jesuits should send him his food. That he was so easily impressed by the warning may not have been unconnected with the fact that with him the Inquisition began to function in Goa, he himself being Grand Inquisitor.[79]

However, despite his declaration always to consult the Jesuits, the Archbishop within a year made it clear that he meant to ask the Pope to abrogate the privilege whereby the Religious were exempt from his jurisdiction, and he also formed a plan to take over some Jesuit churches. Furthermore, either because he himself did not think that some of the means used were proper or because he was strongly impressed by the charges of forced conversion, he ordered the Religious mainly to confine themselves to instructing Christians and made the non-Christians his

personal concern. The Jesuits submitted, and henceforth took no part in any proceedings connected with the law against Hindu rites, as the subsequent annual letters show.[80] The Archbishop himself wrote in November, 1561, to their Provincial in Portugal that, "as the Fathers of the Society are humble, they easily fell in with my wishes, perhaps more because of their humility than because I was right."[81] That same month the Archbishop wrote expressing his own view to the Court thus: "It is true that the majority of Gentiles become Christians by means of occasions which we are not obliged to inquire into; it is enough that when they ask for baptism and receive it after being instructed in things of the Faith, they declare that they do it for the love of God."[82] Indeed, barely two months later, he tried to return to the old methods but the opposition now proved too strong for him. As Melchior Nunes Barreto in keeping with the ideas and circumstances of the time wrote: "To such an extent did the devil with his idolatries prevail and the Christians lose courage!"[83]

There was criticism also from within the ranks of the Jesuit Order, the strongest being that of Antonio de Heredia, whom we already met at the beginning and end of the previous Chapter. He came out to India in 1551, and was immediately stationed at Cochin as Superior. In 1553 he was transferred to Ormuz, but had to be recalled to Goa in 1555 for reasons of health. Towards the end of 1557 we find him again at Ormuz, where, acting on his own, he acquired some houses in the name of the Order. He was then brought to Bassein and thence to Goa, where in 1558 we find him in Chorao, and in 1559-60 at St. Paul's. He returned to Portugal in 1561 and was the following year dismissed from the Order. Not long afterwards he presented a report to a Jesuit whose name we do not know, but who must have been a person of authority.[84] Now it is remarkable that when in 1559 the most prominent of the Goa Jesuits were required to submit information about their brethren, they all agreed that Heredia was too wedded to his own opinion and possessed neither learning nor prudence. Such was the judgment of Melchior Carneiro, Antonio de Quadros, Gonçalo da Silveira, Francisco Rodriguez, and Melchior Nunes Barreto, men who sometimes disagreed among themselves and did not hide each other's faults.[85] In his own report Heredia explains

at considerable length his conduct at Ormuz without showing any awareness that he could not undertake such a major transaction without permission. Most important of all, he himself was in Goa in the years 1558-60, and during all this time expressed no disagreement with regard to what was being done, and his colleagues even thought that on return to Portugal he would give a good account of their work. Whereas, if his report were true, he was, as a matter of conscience, obliged to disagree in the strongest terms.[86]

Here is how Heredia begins: "With regard to the propagation of Christianity, the manner of it was so exorbitant that the whole of India could not but be scandalised. And this was the impression not only of persons of every quality in those parts, but Muslims also got an opportunity to say that what we said was not true; namely, that we did not force our Law on anyone. For they saw us forcing our Law on the inhabitants of our lands after we had told them and made an agreement with them that they could live there peacefully."[87] Unlike Manuel Nunez, who sweepingly alleged that people were being made Christians by cutting off their hair-tufts and obliging them to violate the prescriptions of the Shastras, Heredia somewhat less inaccurately spoke of two proclamations. Namely, "that, under pain of being sentenced to the galleys for life and of losing their entire substance, the people should either leave the land within a certain period of days or become Christians; and before this, another proclamation that anyone who performed a gentile ceremony publicly or secretly, or in whose house a religious emblem or image was found, would be liable to the same."[88]

Heredia then goes on to narrate how these decrees were given effect to, and because it is the strongest criticism we possess, it is here reproduced in full. "These two proclamations," he says, "were so contiguous and the interval between them so brief and the time of harvest so near, that the people neither had the time to sell their fields nor to gather the harvest without incurring the penalty. Seeing this, they decided to leave, even though they were going to lose their lands for failing to sell them and even though they were unable to gather the harvest. Thereupon, the Fathers arranged with the Viceroy that he should order the Captain of the city not to issue a permit to any Gentile to cross over to the other side, and the Viceroy immediately did so.

When the Gentiles were in these agonising straits and placed in this position, the Fathers, like third parties in the affair, moved by religion and zeal took it on themselves to give effect to these proclamations, the manner of it being as follows. Father Francisco Rodriguez and Father Antonio de Quadros sent two, three, or four Jesuits to the fords [of Tisvadi], and just as many to each ford of the [other] islands. Other like groups were sent through various quarters and streets, accompanied by a warden appointed for the purpose and by assistants drawn from among the local Christians who had already become Christians in times past. And then they surprised the people in their homes saying that the Viceroy had ordered them to be taken to the galleys, some because they had exceeded their time, and others because they had performed ceremonies, and yet others because religious emblems had been found in their homes : that if they wished to become Christians they would receive pardon from the Viceroy. Some fled saying they did not want to become Christians, and these made for the fords, where the other Jesuit students were keeping watch day and night and lying in wait for them, some armed with firelocks, others with lances. Some people attempted to swim across, others died by falling into wells in this turmoil, others died of hunger in caves whither they had taken refuge; while I know one whom I saw entering a thicket in order to escape Jesuit students and dying soon afterwards of snake bite. Some became Christians from fear, while others did so because of the straits in which they saw themselves. From Chorao so many people left that the Fathers were obliged to arrange for reaping, gathering, and storing up the rice harvest in order to give it all back to the owners when they should put in an appearance. This caused such a revulsion that I cannot describe it, and it was such a disgrace to the Society, specially these two Fathers, that I cannot adequately express how they were cursed for turning Jesuit students into policemen and sending them forth at night and in day time with arms and maces and candles, and sometimes without light, to search for women in their homes in order to arrest them. I saw a warrant which a Jesuit student made in the Viceroy's name, a false one, authorising the arrest of a thanadar, even though the Viceroy had given no such order and was ignorant of it, a thing which, if discovered or known, would be very unpleasant indeed. This was the

manner in which most of those people were made Christians." [89]

Now it is possible to test Heredia's accuracy no less than Manuel Nunez's. He is firstly inexact in quoting the expulsion decree, for no such general decree comprising all the Hindus was ever issued. The only one to be issued while Heredia was still in Goa was that of April, 1560, banishing thirty or forty prominent men with their families. It is true, however, that the following June the village elders of Carambolim, "the largest quarter and noblest habitation that there is in the Goa Island outside the city," [90] met in assembly to decide what course to take since they saw the land fast becoming Christian. We saw towards the end of the previous Chapter that a movement towards Christianity was slightly in evidence here already in 1548. One of the elders now spoke thus: "What are we to do, since people here are rapidly becoming Christians? We are caught at a difficult moment, for we have sown and committed to the land all that we possessed: if we leave for the mainland—that is, for the Muslim territory on the other side—we have to leave behind our fields; if we remain here, they will fall upon us and make us all Christians. Wherefore, it behoves us with mature counsel to look ahead and take cognisance of what might happen. Let us all betake ourselves with our families to the mainland and live according to our Law; for if you will follow my advice, it seems to me preferable to lose our lands rather than our souls." Thereupon another replied: "This rush and fervour that there now is in the cause of Christianity cannot last long, nor does it seem that this impetus will continue beyond the duration of this Viceroy's stay in India, for all this is the result of his zeal. What I think is, we should wait for him to leave for the [home] Kingdom and in the meantime carry on in Goa as best as we can." Finally, the most authoritative among them raised his voice and said: "I do not think it well for you to speculate as to when Viceroy Don Constantino will leave for Portugal. You should rather consider when the Fathers of the Society of Jesus are going to leave. And since it is clear that they will never leave or cease making Christians, and will secure ascendancy over other Viceroys just as they have over this one, let us commend ourselves to God and become Christians." This last counsel proved so effective that fourteen elders resolved to become Christians with their

families. We owe this episode to the Jesuit annual letter of November, 1560, the writer of which got his information from the Goan priest, André Vaz, who learnt from the elders themselves what had passed in their assembly.[91] We see here that some people indeed feared that they would be made Christians, and were even prepared to forego their lands. But there is nothing to indicate that they found themselves in this situation because of a general decree obliging them either to leave or to become Christians.

It is similarly possible to check Heredia's accuracy when he speaks of the part played by his brethren in the execution of the decrees. His mention of Chorao, where he himself spent some time in 1558, suggests that he had in mind chiefly the events on that island in 1559. As we shall have to study them in the next chapter, it is sufficient here to point out that in the annual letter of that year we have the Jesuit version, which, however, speaks of no deaths. When therefore Heredia speaks of many deaths following a general stampede, is he stating facts or just making allegations? One thing is certain: whereas his report was meant to be confidential, the annual letters were intended for the public, and could, if dishonest, be challenged by the opposition, which had by now spread from Goa to Portugal. Besides, Manuel Nunez wrote in December, 1559, four months after the events on Chorao. But though he speaks of the majority of Hindus as having left, he mentions no tragedies in the course of frantic attempts to escape; and if they really happened, he could not have failed to mention them, since that would have given point to his criticism. Finally, it will be remembered that towards the end of Chapter III we saw how on his arrival in India in 1551 Heredia had had no difficulty in agreeing with his colleagues that the people of Chorao were disposed to become Christians. It was now for him to explain how the entire population, as he represents the matter, shrank from Christianity and accepted it only under duress.

Of Hindu and Muslim sentiments in neighbouring Bijapur, too, we get from another source a somewhat different picture from Heredia's. Early in 1561 Ali Adil Shah (1557-79), the young monarch of Bijapur, hearing of Archbishop Gaspar's reputation for justice and influence at Court, requested him to

send a couple of priests, saying he wanted to know something about the Christian faith. A Dominican and a Jesuit were chosen for the mission. From this Jesuit's account we learn that there were on the Bijapur side rumours of some Hindu priests having performed ceremonies to secure the death of Pedro d'Almeida, and that at the Bijapur court there were complaints about the unjust behaviour of the Portuguese and hopes were now entertained that Archbishop Gaspar would change matters. But there is no indication that these complaints had any bearing on the christianisation of the Islands. On the contrary, the Adil Shah asked only about the nature of Jesus' message, without seeking an explanation of what was happening in Goa. As for the common people, all along the route Hindus and Muslims showed themselves very friendly. "These Muslims," we read, "did us great honour. Muslims and Hindus alike are affable, and they seem to bear the Portuguese no grudge whatever; rather do they seem to like them very much, and they showed it in their dealings with us." So much so, that they even gave the impression of being ready to become Christians if only they were given a lead.[92]

By 1561 the opposition, now spread to Portugal, so impressed the Jesuit Provincial, Miguel de Torres, that even he began to have some doubts.[93] Accordingly, on 17 June 1561, he wrote to James Laynez, the General of the Order, giving him an idea of the complaints and expressing his own mind. Since his statement explains the nature of the opposition in Portugal, it seems best to reproduce it also fully.

Torres begins by referring to the annual letter of 13 November 1560 : [94] "There has come with these letters one about the conversion of the Gentiles to our holy faith, where it is said that this last year, (1)560, twelve thousand or so were converted and baptised by our men in Goa." After that, he presents the following summary of the arguments against the Goa Jesuits : "To the people there in India as well as here in Portugal the manner in which they say they did it appears very foreign, if not contrary, to our way of doing things. For they say that the Gentiles were taken to prison for performing Gentile rites in contravention of a certain law and ordinance of the King of Portugal, which was announced to them, and that our men in some way intervened in these imprisonments. And after that, while be-

ing led to prison or immediately on being arrested, they said they wanted to become Christians, either because they were made to say so or because they are naturally timid as those who know them say they are. Once they had said that, they were taken to the College of St. Paul's and baptised after being half instructed, or even with little or no instruction. Another method employed was that, they being by temperament very touchy about their honour, some wanted to be brought by seeming force in order to be able to say to their people that they did not abandon their Law willingly. Availing themselves of this means, our men went and brought them to our College. These and other like means have been the chief ones by which these people have been made Christians, and it has been the occassion there for very many complaints against our men and for their being partly taken to task by the Archbishop who went there last year. And Governor Francisco Barreto, who has just arrived in this ship, and other persons of quality do not give here very edifying information about the Fathers and this method. When the letters reach there, you will be able to see more in detail what I here state briefly. Your Paternity will decide whether it is proper or not for our men to use these methods, and what should be written to them on the subject." Finally, Torres expressed his own mind thus: "What I think about it is that none of the means which have been used seem to me wrong, rather have they been formerly used in the Church of God. Thus, the Viceroy convoked a meeting of all the learned Religious of that place to see what method they could use, and it was decided to use the actual ones. Nevertheless, it seems to me that, according to our way of doing things, the conversion of non-Christians has to be effected by announcing the Christian message, and by example and goodness, and that the other methods are not quite in keeping with our Institute." [95]

Now Torres formed his judgment after comparing the annual letters of 1559 and 1560 with what those returned from the East, who included Governor Barreto under whom the new period was initiated, had to say. It does not appear that he noticed any serious discrepancy between the letters and the critics, and the discrepancy would have been glaring if there had been mass desertion, as Nunez said, or widespread arrests

with fatal consequences to many, as Heredia alleged. Furthermore, Barreto had personal knowledge of what happened in 1560; for though he left for Portugal in January, 1559, a storm off the Cape of Good Hope forced him to turn back and he reentered Goa in May, 1560. He remained here till the end of the year, when he again took ship and reached Lisbon in June, 1561. Though he disagreed with the Goa Jesuits, he continued to be friendly towards the Order and even donated to the Jesuit church in Lisbon a costly and beautifully worked Chinese antependium.[96]

Torres himself was held in high regard for his learning and gift for government. Ignatius Loyola who first met him at Rome between 1540 and 1542 described him as a man of "great ability and goodness, who came first in the Licentiate courses and then graduated as Doctor of Theology."[97] He was received into the Order in 1547, was Visitor for Portugal in 1552, became Provincial of Andaluzia in 1554, and Provincial of Portugal and confessor to Queen Catherine in 1556.[98] His views did not remain confined to the confidential report but became known at large, and the impression they made was thus described to Laynez in August, 1562, by the succeeding Provincial of Portugal: "What Father Doctor Torres wrote regarding the conversion of the people of India caused great commotion in these parts and in India."[99] But though Torres for the moment found himself in honest disagreement, it is clear from his letter that he left the final decision to his Superior in Rome, regarding whose learning and conscientiousness he entertained no doubt. Nor did this incident in any way lessen the Order's confidence in him, so that on relinquishing the post of Provincial he was appointed Superior of the professed house in Lisbon and was in 1566 once again Visitor for Portugal.[100]

After all that has been said of Torres, it is worth considering his criticism closely. The first thing that strikes one is that he did not condemn those methods as wrong; rather did he by an appeal to Christian tradition express agreement with the Goa theologians. That appeal to Christian tradition requires some explanation; for it has always been part of Christian teaching that a man's attachment to Jesus Christ, for it to have any religious value at all, must be a sovereignly free decision. But it is equally part of Christian teaching that by God's will men can

find their fulfilment in Jesus Christ alone, that they are born to be united as brothers in Jesus Christ and may not, therefore, remain indifferent to one another.

After the Roman Emperors accepted Christianity, Christian thinkers were faced with the problem as to whether they were not obliged to invoke the aid of the secular arm to bring people into the Church or to bring back those who broke away from its unity. Since the relation of the State to public morality will be taken up in the appendix, it suffices here to say that some of those early thinkers believed that by neglecting to call in the State when they were in a position to do so, they would be untrue to their obligation towards their fellow men. On the other hand, the more perceptive among them saw that coercion was at first sight incompatible with freedom. This dilemma was keenly experienced by Augustine of Hippo, who had himself personally known agony and doubt before becoming a Christian. The occasion for it was the Donatists, a north African dissident group which originated in the beginning of the fourth century. They appealed to Constantine the Great, and the Emperor afforded them every opportunity to expose their complaints before ecclesiastical councils and even a tribunal presided over by himself. On their refusal to submit to ecclesiastical and imperial decisions, he resorted to confiscation of their property. Later, some of them went about violently attacking Catholics; hence, they were also subjected to fines and banishment. It thus came about that at the beginning of the fifth century Augustine found himself confronted with the problem of coercion and religious liberty, and his solution influenced Christian thought down to the period with which we are dealing and beyond. Hence, in order to understand the theory of Torres and the Goa theologians we have to consider Augustine's answer.

"I think," he writes to a schismatic bishop, "that you now see that it is not the fact of compulsion that matters but the purpose of compulsion, whether it is used for a good or a bad end. Not that anyone can be good without wanting it, but that through fear of the penalty one would fain avoid, one either gives up the hostile attitude which keeps one back or is obliged to seek the truth which one is ignorant of; thus one either rejects the error which one defended or seeks

the truth of which one was ignorant, and then willingly holds what one once rejected. This would, perhaps, be an idle argument if it were not so well demonstrated by experience. We see that not just some men here and there but many cities that were Donatist are now Catholic, vehemently detest devilish disunity, ardently love unity: they became Catholic, however, thanks to the imperial laws, owing to this fear which you disapprove of . . . . I yielded, therefore, before these facts which my colleagues confronted me with. For my former view was precisely that no man was to be coerced into the fellowship of Christ, that the matter had to be settled by discussion, that we had to win by argument, lest those whom we formerly knew to be open heretics should now merely pretend to be our fellow Catholics. This opinion of mine was vanquished not by the arguments of those who contested it but by the facts which were pointed out to me. . . . For, of our certain knowledge, how many there were who, already convinced by evident truth, wanted to be Catholics but put it off fearing the displeasure of their people. How many were held back not by truth, which you have never pretended to possess, but by the heavy chain of benumbing custom. . . . How many regarded the sect of Donatus as the true Church because the sense of security rendered them sluggish, disdainful, and lazy to inquire about Catholic truth. How many had their way blocked by the calumnies of evilwishers who kept on saying that we laid I know not what on God's altar. How many, thinking that it did not matter on which side a Christian was, remained on the side of Donatus because they were born in it and no one obliged them to pass thence to the Catholic side. To all these, the terror of these laws which kings promulgate, thereby themselves serving the Lord in fear, was so beneficial that now some say: 'This is what we wanted all along; we therefore thank God for affording us the means of taking the final step and putting an end to our indecision and delay'. Others say: 'We already knew this to be the truth, but we were held back by we know not what inertia; thanks be to God for breaking our bonds and placing us under the bondage of Christian unity'. Others says: '. . . thanks be to God for frightening us and shaking us out of our negligence, that we might at least through fear seek what in our sense of security we would never have cared to seek'. Others say:

'False rumours kept us back from entering, and we would not have known them to be false if we had not entered, nor would we have entered if we had not been compelled; thanks be to God. . . .' Others say: 'We thought it did not matter to which Christian body we belonged; thanks be to God for ending our state of separation and showing us that God, who is one, ought to be worshipped in union'." [101]

Augustine, then, broadly divided the Donatists into three classes: those who were convinced of Catholic truth but refrained from taking the final step because of human considerations; those who never gave a thought to Catholicism because of their sense of security in the conviction of their birth; and those who disliked Catholicism because of the bad reports they had heard about it. According to him, a Christian ruler was but fulfilling his duty towards God and his subjects by using his authority not to force them to accept the Catholic Faith against their conviction, but in order to oblige them to shake off the hold of those circumstances which prevented them from accepting what they already saw to be true or from undertaking an inquiry into its truth. If those people had adhered to Catholicism for love of earthly gain or fear of earthly loss, their act would have been devoid of religious value. But they themselves avowed that such fear had merely enabled to them to overcome the obstacles which barred their way to religious conviction, which was the only reason they gave for their final step. And Augustine had no reason to doubt their sincerity. This, then, was the theory which Torres and the Goa theologians alike accepted.

And that brings us to Torres's real objection: namely, that the Goa Jesuits were not acting according to the spirit of their Order. We have already seen the regard in which Provincial Quadros was held by his older colleagues. He was also deemed to have a good understanding of the Order, and, on his arrival in Goa in 1555, explained to his brethren its Constitutions, the text of which first reached India by the same boat as he.[102] Moreover, at the very time that Torres voiced his dissent, Jeronimo Nadal, one of the early Jesuits most qualified to speak on the Jesuit ideal, was in Portugal as Visitor. With the same information at his disposal as Torres, he found nothing to reprove, but just issued the following caution: "Let account be taken of the complaints there have been this year with regard

to the method of conversion employed in India, and, specially, let our men be told to show the Archbishop respect and veneration." [103]

It is admitted in the Catholic system that God by his grace does not supplant our imperfect nature but purifies it and permeates it with his own life. Ignatius Loyola, accordingly, wanted his men to take into account the natural disposition of those with whom they had to deal. "They ought," he wrote, "diligently to acquire the manner of dealing and conversing with people." [104] He, therefore, authorised a measure of rigour when he thought it would help to foster mature personal religious conviction, but not otherwise. Writing of attendance at the customary religious exercises for Christian students in Jesuit institutions he says, "those who can easily be constrained should be constrained . . . others should be lovingly persuaded; and let them not be coerced into it, nor should they be expelled from school for not complying, provided their lives are not dissolute or a scandal to others." [105]

From Cochin, Melchior Nunes Barreto sent to Laynez in the middle of January, 1562, an explanation which recalls in essentials the argument of Augustine. Speaking for the Goa Jesuits he wrote: "A complaint has been raised here which may have reached the ears of Your Paternity. For since in these last years many Gentiles became Christians in the island of Goa with great labour and exhaustion on the part of our Fathers and with the help of Viceroy Don Constantino, and since by this conversion of the Gentiles many Portuguese were deprived of much source of wealth and illicit gain, they charged that compulsion was used at St. Paul's. And when recently last year the Archbishop arrived, such was the force of these complaints and His Grace, who is by nature apprehensive and holds on to an idea he once gets, was so full of this first impression that on arrival he gave no support to the method of conversion, so that the cause of Christianity suffered a great setback. So much so that, although His Grace now wants to christianise in the same way as before, he is unable to do so. To such an extent did the devil with his idolatries prevail and the Christians lose heart. In this land, Father, no miracles occur, nor do the Gentiles see the Portuguese leading exemplary lives; rather do they see them doing just the opposite of what we preach. Hence, where

miracles and examples of sanctity are lacking, what else is there to do except to move them with gifts and incentives, with penalties and favours and denial of favours, with all that which can, not indeed as the ultimate but as a subsidiary motive, move them to want to be chatechised, in order that after being instructed they might with faith, sorrow for sin, and the necessary intention receive baptism and be accepted within the gates of the Holy Catholic Church? . . . Father Antonio de Quadros very well understands India and the ways of its people. . . . I give Your Paternity this information in order that, should something contrary to this be written to Rome or Portugal, you might beforehand have true information as to what is happening, and for you to know that the Christians made in Goa during the last five years were made after very mature consideration, and with much less force and constraint than that allowed by learned theologians and canonists." [106]

How far this explanation is accurate or not will appear in course of Chapter VII. But one important point, namely, the concern of those men that their catechumens should approach baptism with a genuine religious disposition, deserves particular attention here. According to Catholic doctrine, this implies: faith, or the acceptance of Jesus Christ and his teaching from the conviction that by God's ordinance mankind can find its fulfilment in him alone; sorrow for sin, or regret at having offended God, with a sincere resolve not to offend him again; and finally, intention, or willing submission to the rite of baptism by which one is incorporated into the Church or organism of which Jesus is the life and through which he imparts himself to men. This is what 'conversion' means. The exterior rite of baptism by itself does not 'convert', it is meant to put a seal on the interior disposition.

This is also the point on which Archbishop Gaspar seems to have felt some concern when he wrote to the Court in November 1561, "It is true that the majority of Gentiles become Christians owing to occasions which we are not bound to inquire into; it is enough that when they ask for baptism and receive it after being instructed in things of the Faith, they declare that they do it for the love of God." However, the fact that he eventually attempted to return to the methods he had forbidden would seem to show that his doubts were finally set at rest. And we

have proof that the Goa Jesuits took Catholic teaching seriously on this point; for whereas they readily admitted to baptism simple people who, they knew, had no intellectual difficulty regarding Christian belief, they subjected to a searching test those who had been trained in Hindu metaphysical systems and did not admit them to baptism until they were sure of their whole-hearted adhesion to Jesus' message. The episode of the sannyasi from the island of Anjidiv (Angediva) will serve as an illustration of this.

Some time in September, 1560, there came to St. Paul's a sannyasi, sent by Viceroy Bragança, who found him on Anjidiv, just south of Goa, leading an austere life and drawing people by his reputation. His initial frugality astounded the Jesuits, for we are told, "he either ate a couple of figs with a spoonful of curds or the same quantity of some other substance, and neither bread nor meat nor rice ever entered his diet."[107] He explained that food makes a man heavy and brings sleep, and then asked. "How can one who is sleepy meditate?"[108] When he was told that his system contained the apparent inconsistency that while prescribing exterior observances and the traditional worship it also held them to be of no religious significance, he replied with the argument that these have a relative value until a man attains spiritual knowledge but cease to be valid after that. Francisco Rodriguez put him through a course of religious instruction, but for a long while he hesitated to make up his mind fearing that, if he had been mistaken with regard to the Hindu system, he might be equally mistaken in accepting Christianity. One day, however, he expressed his readiness to become a Christian if Rodriguez so wished and even asked for baptism, and showed his acceptance of Christian fellowship by taking food from the Jesuits. He willingly tasted some wine as well, and on his first experience of it commented that he did not see why men should reject anything since God had made everything for their sake. But as he did not yet appear fully convinced, he was not admitted to baptism until he had been subjected to a long probation of more than two years.[109]

But though the Goa Jesuits could truly explain to their Superiors that their conduct was in keeping with Christian teaching, there still remains Heredia's statement that a Jesuit student forged a warrant. Now a few months after Governor

Barreto's return to Portugal, two Jesuits charged with the eastern affairs of their Order put together for Jeronimo Nadal the substance of the information received from India. This memorial, so to say, does not always show a proper understanding of the situation in Goa and it says little that we do not know from the reports of the Goa Jesuits; but on this point it has preserved for us information from un untraced letter of Provincial Quadros. After explaining that the accusation of forced conversion had little foundation, the memorial goes on : " Besides this, it happened that some Jesuit students with excessive zeal used a measure of force in dealing with three or four Gentiles in order to get them to become Christians; and the critics much amplify and exaggerate this incident . . . people said that conversion was effected through violence, when in fact there was no violence except with regard to these three or four as already said, and this was, as the Provincial of India writes, rectified." [110] It is these instances that Nunez may have had in mind when he spoke of outright compulsion. As for Heredia, he could give only one concrete instance of dishonesty without, moreover, saying what the Superiors did about it and whether it was actually practised on the thanadar. Quadros, on the other hand, admitted that there was actual injustice towards three or four Hindus. This readiness to admit an injustice rather than cover it up with specious explanations is an added indication of the sincerity of those men. The contemporary idea of the king as a father, who had to administer correction to his people for their spiritual good, made their general policy seem legitimate. It is only with the development of the idea that the state is a co-operative effort of equal citizens that men began to narrow the scope of public morality.

Now when Laynez, himself an outstanding theologian, received in the latter part of 1562 Melchior Nunes Barreto's explanation, he had at hand Torres's criticism and the information on which it was based, the annual letters from Goa, at least the substance of the memorial of 1561 which honestly admitted some injustices, and, perhaps, also Heredia's version.[111] Nor were the Roman Superiors accustomed to approve as a matter of course the ideas and conduct of their subjects. Thus when no less a person than Francis Xavier, who might have been too easily impressed by the failure of some hastily ordained

Indian priests to come up to expectations, seemed to express himself against admitting Indians into the Jesuit Order, Ignatius gently but firmly insisted that gifted boys should be trained and admitted with real love. And when in 1559 a boy from Kerala who was being educated at St. Paul's wrote to Laynez asking for admission, Quadros too expressed himself against granting his request. Laynez thereupon told him, "It seems ungracious to close the door against such as are called by God our Lord." Quadros then willingly obeyed his command to admit the first Indian Jesuit.[112]

Again, when in 1557 a Portuguese who had turned Muslim directed an attack against Chorao, some fifty or sixty Muslims were captured and beheaded by the Indian Christians, an incident which, by the way, does not quite square with what Torres heard the critics say about the people's timidity. Since the attack was aimed at the Christian settlement, the Jesuit Brother stationed there armed himself with a firelock and stood ready to defend the church. This incident was included in the annual letter of that year in the belief that it was an act of God's service. Laynez, however, thought otherwise and his disapproval was expressed in the following note to Quadros: "In an edifying letter written by our Brother Luis Frois, it was said that a Brother who is in Chorao to look after the church and instruct the recent Christians sallied forth with firelock and lighted match against those Muslims who were going to set fire to the church and were killed by the Christians. This business of carrying arms is not permissible to, or even becoming in, men of our profession, and Your Reverence should see to it that our men use the arms proper to them, namely, spiritual ones, leaving the other kind to laymen."[113]

It may be safely presumed, then, that Laynez carefully examined Melchior Nunes Barreto's explanation in the light of the criticisms; more still, we know for certain from Juan Polanco, the secretary of the Order, that the matter was carefully weighed. After that, from Trent, where he had come to attend the last sessions of the XIX Ecumenical Council, Laynez gave in December, 1562, his full approval to what was being done. "You say," he replied to Melchior Nunes Barreto, "that you are not sure whether the complaint regarding the conversion of the Gentiles has reached our ears. Be sure that it has

indeed reached us, but was judged to have no foundation in fact or in reason. Rather has it pained us that because these gentlemen came in the way, the conversion movement has been stayed in its course, whereas the entire island of Goa and the adjacent regions might have become Christian by now. And although I know that last year His Highness wrote efficacious letters in favour of conversion and the Society's method, still, if something more is necessary by way of favour and encouragement from Their Highnesses,[114] I am asking our men to secure it. The Pope too is writing to the Archbishop recommending to him in a Brief the affairs of conversion as well as the Society." [115]

This mention of the Court of Portugal and the Pope brings us to the recourse had to these two authorities.

The most important explanation given to the Court came from Provincial Quadros and is dated 14 January 1561. It is therefore given here in full. "It seems to me," he explained addressing himself to King Sebastian, "that I owe Your Highness an account not only of the fruit being produced, for this comes from God alone, but also of the manner in which it is produced and preserved, and, together with that, of the obstacles which the devil is placing in the way of this work. Now with regard to the first point, there have been baptised this year, 1560, in the College of St. Paul's 12,700 souls more or less, all of them vassals of Your Highness, and inhabitants of this island of Goa and the adjacent islands." [116] After excusing himself from giving a detailed account of how conversion came about because, as he put it, "that differs from soul to soul," he thus broadly stated what was happening: "The following is the way in which conversions come about. Some Fathers are stationed about these islands in twos. Namely, two on the island of Chorao, two others on Divar, two others in Rachol which is in the land of Salsette, yet others in this island of Goa. These continuously reside there and constantly endeavour by deed and word to explain to the Gentiles their inadequacies and the truth of our Faith. The student Brothers of this College of St. Paul's go out in twos every Sunday to explain doctrine. They go to the chapels and villages where there are no parishes, as well as to [the parishes of] Our Lady of Guadelupe [Batim], St. John [Carambolim], the Mother of God

[Daugim], and Santiago [Banastarim],[117] which are a league and a half away from [the city of] Goa. All of them endeavour to instruct and encourage those who are baptised as well as to bring in those who are not. Doctrine is taught in eighteen different places, in addition to it being taught continually in this College. The greater part of the Gentiles come in this way to the knowledge of our Faith; others come because they are brought by Our Lord, without being persuaded by any man; others come convinced by their Christian relatives, some of these newly converted having brought three hundred, some one hundred, some less, according as each one can; others, and these are a minority, come constrained by the laws which Your Highness has promulgated in these lands, forbidding the people to retain their religious objects or perform their ceremonies. Hence, when found guilty of performing them, they are arrested and, after being arrested, out of fear of the penalty they ask for holy baptism. They are then brought to this College of St. Paul's and here instructed as far as possible and, once they know what they are leaving and what they are accepting, they are given the water of holy baptism." [118]

After pointing out that this minority was the reason for the charge of force, Quadros went on: "It is necessary that Your Highness should be truly informed about our reasons for making this people Christian in this way. Firstly, among other ceremonies which the devil taught this people, there is one according to which they can in no way either eat in our company or of our food. For if they eat anything we give them, they immediately lose their Hindu nature, so that eating from our hand is with them what the sin against the Holy Ghost or final impenitence is with us. For those who eat from our hand cannot be Hindus any more nor mix with Hindus nor the Hindus with them. When on being arrested they are brought to this house because of their asking to be received as Christians, we give them hospitality in order to instruct them in things of our Faith, which is an act of charity not to be denied to those who arrive at the point of wishing to be instructed, even though it be out of fear of punishment. Once they experience our hospitality, those who eat our food and in our plates are incapable of being Hindus any more and lose all hope of re-entering their caste, and have necessarily to accept

some other Law, since they have lost the one they had. In this state, since they have no liking for any other Law except ours, they are confirmed in the resolve which they originally took out of fear of punishment, and, persevering thus, find peace in the truth which they accept, and after instruction we baptise them. Those who are perceptive do not call this making Christians by force but rather being merciful to them by giving them holy baptism when they ask for it, in place of the punishment which by law they deserved. And this, in accordance with the decree passed here by the King who is in glory, the grandfather of Your Highness, that when Gentiles under arrest want to become Christians, the justice of mercy should be used towards them. As an example of this we have St. Gregory, who wrote to the Bishop of Sardinia that he should favour Christians and burden Gentiles with impositions in order that they might thus come to the knowledge of the Faith.[119] How much more reason there is here, since all the force they are subjected to by the laws of Your Highness does not amount to anything more than obliging them to abandon their ceremonies, a point on which St. Thomas speaks with such conviction that he says Christian princes ought in no way to permit them to their subjects." [120]

This passage calls for some remarks, as it is the most important in the entire explanation. We have first of all a clear affirmation that those who became Christians after arrest were a minority. Secondly, the reference to Pope Gregory the Great explains Melchior Nunes Barreto's meaning when he told Laynez that far less compulsion was used in Goa than that allowed by canonists and theologians. As for the decree of John III referred to by Quadros, although no such express decree has come to light, it was none the less that King's mind as expressed in his instructions of 1546 to Miguel Vaz that every legitimate favour was to be done to help people to become Christians.[121] And Loku Sinai's release in 1548 indicates that the King was understood to want the power of reprieve to be so used. Lastly, we are told that once these people accepted Christian fellowship, they had no difficulty about accepting the Christian faith because they were already inclined to do so. Now this is borne out by what Azu Naik had earlier said about the people's disposition. Hence, it was the difficulty which people experienced in accepting Christian fellowship that seems

to have stood between them and the Christian message. This point will have to be taken up again in the next chapter, and we may therefore proceed.

Speaking of the Portuguese critics Quadros said: "The Portuguese in this land help this work so little that many of them, worked on by devilish deception, blaspheme it. The first argument by which the devil tempts them is founded on gain, for the expulsion of members of the leading classes very much pained many of them. For the officials of Your Highness rely on them to manage their accounts for them, as the leading classes are very dexterous in this and understand very well how the officials can make the most of the opportunities and perquisites of office. Most of the Portuguese merchants here had their people of the higher classes on whom they relied; so they cannot but complain at being deprived of them. Many other residents of Goa who are not merchants keep many Hindus in their palm groves. These, on becoming Christians, acquire a greater sense of self-respect than before and do not put up with the unreasonable treatment and oppression to which they were subjected when Hindus. Moreover, following the example of the Portuguese they endeavour to rise higher, so that many of them are not prepared to work in the palm groves but rather take to some other kind of life. Although we do not approve of this, we cannot altogether prevent some of them. And this is the reason why these people also complain. They hinder this work, thinking, as many of them do, that they are thereby serving God, mistaking for zeal what is purely a temptation of the devil." [122]

These remarks, too, call for a critical evaluation. We have seen earlier that Portuguese officials did in fact depend on the native administrative class. It will also be recalled that in 1529 the City Council spoke of some officials getting rich at the people's expense with the help of native functionaries, and that in 1546 Governor Joao de Castro, who did not quite favour King John III's religious policy, testified to the existence of corruption. All the indications, therefore, are in favour of Quadros.

Finally, after saying how Viceroy Bragança had, because of the opposition, convened a meeting of representative theologians of the Religious Orders, Quadros concluded: "Thus,

owing to this support, Christians are greatly increasing in number, so that the Hindus are much fewer now. And since the number of Christians is now larger than that of Hindus, it is now among them considered an honour to become a Christian, whereas previously it was considered a great reproach. And with that, there is now little to be done for the conversion of these islands. All our effort henceforth will be to maintain what has been achieved. Our Lord grant that the people of Bardez, and [also] Salsette where we already have two Fathers, may quickly ask for baptism; indeed, many have already begun to come in." [123]

Now Quadros made no distinction between the different ways in which people incurred the penalties. But we know from Torres that there were people who asked to be arrested in order not to incur disgrace in the eyes of their kith and kin by appearing to become Christians willingly. This fits in with the view held by Hindu jurists of the Middle Ages that one who fell away under compulsion did not thereby disgrace himself. One who wished to become a Christian could, therefore, think of avoiding disgrace in the eyes of his relatives by appearing to yield to force.[124]

Whereas we thus get a fairly complete picture of the explanation given to the Court, our idea of what the Pope was told is limited to a few summary references in the letters of the Roman Jesuits. Thus, the reply of Laynez to Melchior Nunes Barreto suggests that the Pope was informed of the difficulties experienced by the Religious both in the matter of evangelisation and of exemption from the Archbishop's authority. This is confirmed by the following instruction issued from Trent in November, 1562, by Juan Polanco. "From India," he told a Jesuit in Rome, "the Rector of the College of Goa writes that the good Archbishop of the place does not show himself quite friendly to our Society, and has given them to understand that he intends through the Pope to subject the Religious Orders to his authority, regardless of our privileges and exemption. We do not believe that His Holiness will concede it, specially if he comes to know that the good man has, since his arrival there, not only not promoted but even hindered the conversion of non-Christians by failing to agree with our Society which has respected him as a Prelate. . . . It is well that there they should

see to it that the Archbishop passes no order to bring, as is said, the Religious Orders or our churches under subjection. It would also be well to consider whether it is necessary to secure from His Holiness some other Brief in which the Archbishop of Goa should be told of the Society's exemption, and which should recommend the Society to his favour so that he might neither permit anyone else to give her trouble nor himself trouble her; rather, he should regard them as sons and co-operators in gathering in non-Christians and preserving those who are already Christians." [125] The Court of Portugal, too, exerted its influence on behalf of the Jesuit Order by beseeching the Pope, in view of its services to religion both at home and abroad, "to protect and favour it with all love and affection." [126]

Now Archbishop Gaspar had a high patron at Court in the person of the Regent, Cardinal Don Henry, in whose service he had for some time been.[127] In spite of that, the Jesuit explanation was accepted and a missive dispatched to the Archbishop in March, 1562. It praised Constantino de Bragança's religious policy; it also directed the Archbishop to confer with the Religious as to how best to promote the cause of religion and accordingly to advise the Viceroy.[128] It should be noted, however, that, as Melchior Nunes Barreto tells us, the Archbishop had already changed his mind by the beginning of 1562 without having to wait for these instructions, but the opposition proved too strong.

Although Viceroy Coutinho's aloof attitude was not yet known in Portugal, similar instructions were issued to him at the same time. "I earnestly order you," they ran, "to see to it that neither the enthusiasm for this work nor the efficiency of the ministers who devote themselves to it is diminished. Let not occasion be given to the newly converted or to those of whose conversion there is hope, for their resolution to grow weak; nor let those who seem to be far from conversion be confirmed in their mistakes; for if this happens it will redound to the great discredit of the Faith, and will be a serious disservice to Our Lord and to me." [129] He was then told to seek and abide by the advice of the Archbishop and the Religious.

Instructions in the same form were also sent to the City Councillors. "I shall consider myself," they were reminded,

"so much the better served by my vassals, the more I learn that they intensely promote and lend their help to such a great cause of God and welfare of souls as this. . . . I require you to co-operate with them [the Viceroy, the Archbishop, and the Religious] to the same end, so that, all being agreed on the purpose and means of achieving it and the differences which might have occurred being brought to an end, this entire land may in a short time be converted to our holy faith; and it will be protected and favoured by God in proportion to the care and diligence shown in making his Law accepted." [130]

These instructions reached Goa in the beginning of September, 1562. But the annual letter of December, 1562, shows little change when compared with its predecessor of December 1561. There is no mention of any action being taken under the laws prohibiting Hindu ceremonies or expelling certain people, the Archbishop continued personally to supervise the admission of non-Christians, and the Religious, forbidden to hold solemn baptisms, mainly confined themselves to instructing Christians, though also baptising small numbers at a time.[131]

In the meantime, by the latter half of 1562 news had reached Portugal and Rome about Viceroy Coutinho's attitude.[132] This was the occasion for the instructions of early March, 1563, whereby he was reminded to banish those who opposed Christianity and, where possible, not to engage the services of Hindu doctors and other professions. He was also asked to permit again solemn baptisms to the Religious. "The previous years," the message went, "I learnt through letters come from there about the way solemn baptisms used to be held,[133] there being present for the occasion persons of quality as god-parents of those who were baptised. And because it is believed that, by this and like favours which used to be shown them and by the solemnity which used to surround that act, the newly converted would be consoled and non-Christians experience the urge to receive our holy faith, I request you to take counsel with the said Archbishop and Fathers so that, should the good of Christianity so demand and should there be no reason of greater moment to the contrary, things might be done in the same or some other more opportune manner, always keeping

in view the higher interests and propagation of our holy faith." [134]

Although this message reached Goa on 10 September 1563,[135] it was not actually delivered till the end of November, the delay being attributed by the Jesuit letter of the year to "the devil, who apparently exerted himself for this end." [136] Accordingly, after first discussing the matter with the Archbishop, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits, the Viceroy convoked a council at which, in addition to the Archbishop and the Religious, were present the Treasurer, Judges, City Councillors, and others. There were dissenting voices, particularly against the renewed idea of expelling some people. However, the Archbishop by an appeal to reason and Scripture supported the plan and it was decided to take action. The Religious, too, were permitted to resume solemn baptisms.[137]

Earlier, on 1 December 1562, Pope Pius IV had, in answer to the appeals of the Portuguese Court and the Jesuits, issued a Brief reminding the Archbishop that he ought to cherish the Religious as his God-given helpers. In particular, he was told it was the Pope's wish that the privileges of the Society of Jesus should not be curtailed and that he was expected to promote its apostolate.[138] This Brief, characterised by Polanco as being 'in strong ink',[139] reached Goa in September 1563, with the same post as that which brought Viceroy Coutinho his instructions. But by that time the Brief was no more necessary, and Provincial Quadros said so to his Superior in Rome, while adding that the Brief 'was a very good one'.[140]

Now the steps taken by Viceroy Coutinho in November, 1563, to expel certain people were somewhat of a compromise [141] dictated, perhaps, by his own reluctance as well as the arguments of the opposition. Hence, when news of it reached Portugal, fresh instructions were sent in March, 1565, to Coutinho's successor, Viceroy Antao de Noronha, whose own critical letter of 30 December, 1564, had still to reach the Court. "And because I have learnt," he was told, "that there has still been some remissness in execution, specially in sending out of my lands prejudicial Brahmins, goldsmiths, and Gentiles, and this due to not knowing who these are, I now earnestly recommend that you and the Archbishop, together with the Fathers of the Society of Jesus and other Religious, should decide who

are to be sent out of my lands, and those who are unanimously held to be prejudicial to the cause of conversion shall be expelled." [142]

This chapter may now be closed with the exhortation addressed by Pope St. Pius V to Viceroy Noronha and his Council in October 1567. It is quoted here rather extensively, because it shows how even the best men thought at a time when the principle of human brotherhood had still to result in the demand of the African and Asian peoples to live their own national lives, while co-operating with the nations of Europe in a spirit of equality and fellowship. After expressing his joy at people having accepted the message of Jesus in such numbers, the Pope proceeded: "All Christian peoples and nations know how well their Most Serene Highnesses, the Kings of Portugal, have deserved in this regard. For owing to their solicitude, interest, and admirable magnanimity, it has come about—God giving success to their devout endeavours and enterprises—that the holy Gospel has reached the ultimate bounds of the earth, and those who walked in darkness have begun to see the light of the true religion and acknowledge their Creator and Saviour. Now, because We owe a duty equally to those who are far and to those who are near, ardently desirous as We are that the work of converting the Gentiles should be promoted as much as possible [143] and that so many souls which would have been lost should be rescued with ever greater solicitude, We thought We ought to recommend so holy and devout a work to your zeal. Even if the honour of Our Lord Jesus Christ alone were at stake, it would be expected of such Catholics as you not to hesitate to shed even your blood for His honour who shed His own for our salvation on the altar of the cross; as, indeed, many of your compatriots have very gloriously shed and now obtain the reward of their merits. However, besides God's honour, besides the salvation of souls, there is at stake the honour of our most Christian son, your King, your own as well as that of your heroic nation. For, the greater the number of Gentiles who accept the religion of Christ the more glorious will be your King's noble name, the more firmly will his dominion be established in those regions, the greater the resources that will accrue to subjugate with divine help and unite to Portugal uncultured

nations; the greater will be your glory and that of your nation, as well as your services to the Christian religion. You are expected diligently to consider all this and most willingly provide all possible help, all possible encouragement and support to the labourers spending themselves in the Lord's vineyard, namely, to the prelates and to the Religious, irrespective of the Order to which they belong. Being wise, you understand that it is above all necessary diligently to defend and protect the Gentiles against the excesses of soldiers, to clear away and root out all obstacles and scandals which might in any way hinder or keep them back from Christianity." [144]

CHAPTER V

THE WORKING OF THE RIGOUR OF MERCY

THE previous chapter with its text of the laws and the theory of the evangelists would justify the conclusion that there was coercion of some sort; it remains to see how things actually worked out.

Let us first take up the law against Hindu rites, since it figured so prominently in the criticisms of Nunez, Heredia, and Torres. Even granting that its authors could not approve of some of the religious practices, the fact still remains that the penalty of life sentence to the galleys and confiscation of property was exceptionally severe. Moreover, if inflicted on a Brahmin this penalty would, against the early Portuguese policy of respecting local custom, contravene the Dharmashastras, which exempt a Brahmin from corporal punishment and make him liable only to banishment, except when he is guilty of treason.[1] But the Christian Middle Ages regarded wilful rejection of the Christian faith after one has accepted it precisely as treason, and hence, to be punished with death.[2] This, then, might have been the conception which dictated this penalty. However, by his decree of 20 June, 1562, Viceroy Coutinho seems to have mitigated the law; for he thereby ruled that persons handed over by the ecclesiastical courts were not to be subjected to sanguinary or corporal punishment, but were to be just banished.[3]

That would mean the penalty was actually in force in the brief period 1557-61. Even then, we can be certain of only three persons having been unequally subjected to it, all three in 1558, the year after it was promulgated by Governor Barreto. The first was a Brahmin arrested for presiding at night over a celebration in honour of Ganesh; his property was confiscated and he himself sentenced to the galleys for life. The second, who is described as one held in esteem, was taken on the night of Bali worship at Divali time for possessing a Purana and for bearing on his person reputedly magical objects; he

was first led through the streets and the cause of his arrest announced, after which he was sentenced to four months' hard labour in the naval yard. The third, who was credited with being able by his incantations to put five hundred elephants in the field, was arrested for possessing instruments of magic; he was subjected to ridicule, had his property confiscated, and was sentenced to the galleys for we know not how long. His wife and children asked to be received as Christians. Besides these three, we learn of a small group taken at Divali while celebrating Bali worship; they were, we read, "sentenced to what seemed just," the penalty not being specified. A group of respectable merchants was also taken about the same time probably during Lakshmi worship, but we have no information about how they were dealt with.[4] With due allowance for the imperfect political ideas of the time, these are clear instances where the law resulted in unwitting violence to consciences.

We have no indication that this penalty was actually inflicted after 1558. Neither Manuel Nunez nor Heredia nor Torres say anything about it. Heredia, indeed, clearly mentions the law and it would have given force to his criticism if he could have referred to the number of people who suffered under it.

Next, there were those who became Christians on being arrested. It is just as well first to take up Chorao in view of Heredia's version. There are two other accounts of what happened there, one by a Jesuit student and another by the Jesuit Brother permanently stationed on the island. The former account is more complete and shows greater discernment; the latter shows better knowledge of local conditions, but is too brief to be clear at all points. An attempt is here made to combine the advantages of both.[5]

Some people had in 1557 celebrated a marriage with customary rites. They later learnt that one of those who took part in the festive meal was a Christian, and because the whole thing was thereby deemed to be spoilt they felt obliged to repeat the ceremony. Two years later, this Christian talked about it to the Jesuit Brother there, who in his turn informed Francisco Rodriguez. It was accordingly arranged to arrest the thirty or forty persons concerned. The City Magistrate, who himself owned a large palm grove there and knew well the conditions, came over with Pedro d'Almeida on 24 August 1559. After

posting guards at the fords, he proceeded to detain some of the persons. Thereupon others, among whom were the Magistrate's own workers, took fright and ran to hide themselves. As the few arrested persons were being led for interrogation in the hope that some eight or ten of them might ask to become Christians, a revered old man suddenly stood forth and said in a loud voice: "Take whom you will, make everybody a Christian without further ado."[6] Scarcely had he done, when the entire village declared its readiness to accept Christianity. It was only then that Pedro d'Almeida came down with some Jesuit students and saw all in a happy mood. By the next day the number of those wanting to become Christians rose to 450. It was decided to hold the baptism on 29 August with Viceroy Bragança in attendance. When the Brahmins, who lived in a quarter of their own and had not been thus far affected, heard that he was coming over, they feared he might proceed against them for like reasons and resolved secretly to cross over by night to the Bijapur side. But since they would thereby according to local custom lose their lands for failing to meet their obligations to the Exchequer, a few Jesuit students were sent to keep watch in boats for three or four nights along the stretch of water that divides the island from the mainland. Of those who were thus stopped nearly thirty became Christians within two months.

The following points are worth noting. When the arrest was decided upon only eight or ten were expected to become Christians. Moreover, only some of the thirty or forty concerned were detained; most of the 450 people, therefore, got over their fright and came forward of their own accord when the old man's words went round. Next, the Brahmin sector of the village remained unaffected on this occasion; only when they planned to flee at the risk of losing their lands were steps taken to prevent them, nor is there any evidence that those of them who became Christians did so because they were faced with any penalty.

All this fits in with what we have already seen: namely, that by and large the Islands were already disposed to accept the message of Jesus, a disposition testified to by Heredia himself eight years earlier. We have further indications of this in what the Brother of Chorao now tells us. He writes: "Some

of these Brahmins who want to become Christians send word that I should lead them away as though by force, so that they might have an excuse in the eyes of their relatives. Others who happen to have enemies assault and wound them or beat them with sticks, and then come and ask to be admitted as Christians, or for the same purpose place themselves where they can be caught. Yet others, when they want to become Christians, perform Gentile ceremonies, against an ordinance of the Viceroy, expressly in order that they might be arrested. They say that sooner or later all of them will have to become Christians. They openly admit that the Christian Law is very good and prefer it to their own in the presence of a Christian. Others say that since their ancestors died as Gentiles, they do not wish to be wiser than they but will also die as Gentiles. Many others, when one speaks to them of God, say, 'I will become a Christian when others do so'." [7]

As our next example we may take what happened on Divar and Chorao the following year. These islands were inhabited for the most part by Brahmin agriculturists who are described by the Brother of Chorao as "men who are very much given to hard work." [8] Though strongly attached to their ancestral ways, they had by this time begun to whisper among themselves that since Tisvadi was fast becoming Christian, they could not remain out much longer, but that neither could they spontaneously come forward without incurring dishonour in the eyes of their relatives on the mainland.

At this juncture, on 18 July or so, some influential Brahmins of Divar decided to send about twenty of their young men by night to the Bijapur side, there to honour Ganesh in the name of them all. They were detained by the thanadar, who, rejecting all offers, referred the matter to Viceroy Bragança. And here we have one of the few recorded instances of people who became Christians after being actually imprisoned, that being one of the points raised by Torres. The Viceroy had the young men kept in prison, where, after less than a week, they asked to be instructed in Christian belief; they also asked the Jesuits to arrange for bringing over their wives so that they too might be instructed. Their fathers now met together and decided that they should all become Christians. Accordingly, when the Brother of Chorao accompanied by some local Christians went over

to Divar to say that the young men had asked for their wives, some of their relatives suggested that they be all taken together rather than a few at a time, so that they need not feel ashamed of one another. When this news was conveyed to St. Paul's it was decided to call simultaneously on the Brahmins of Divar and Chorao. Accordingly, on 30 July a party of Jesuit priests and students, eight in all, went to Divar, while another small group left for Chorao. We owe our information of what followed to a student who belonged to the party of Divar. A house to house call found the Brahmins of both islands only too ready to follow them to the respective churches, so much so that, on learning the purpose of the visit, one of them exclaimed, "Now long live Jesus Christ and let the devil be hanged, for I am resolved to be a very good Christian seeing that none can escape God!" On arriving at the church, they accepted Christian fellowship by eating from the hand of the Jesuits and gave up such usages as the thread and hair-tuft which were believed to have a religious significance incompatible with Christianity.[9] The principal elders then called on the Viceroy, who received them graciously, and the tradition still persists in Divar that at that remote period their elders went and asked to be admitted as Christians. A short preparatory instruction was deemed sufficient and the first baptism was held on Chorao on 8 August, till by the middle of November the number of neophytes was 1,207; on Divar the first baptism took place on 15 August, and by mid-November the neophytes numbered 1,535.[10]

However, it was Carambolim in particular that provided the occasion for alleging force, and hence the need to examine what happened there. It will be recalled from the previous chapter how in June, 1560, a group of elders there decided to become Christians with their entire families. The annual letter then goes on to describe how others followed their example, so that very soon more than 200 persons, comprising elders and their families, were ready to become Christians. There followed a meeting at St. Paul's on Thursday, 13 June, between Viceroy Bragança and a deputation of villagers, at which it was decided that the following Sunday the Viceroy in person should visit the village and some Jesuit students should go round gathering such people as they could so that he might persuade

them to become Christians. What happened on June 16 is thus described by a student who was of the party. "We began to gather," he writes, "many women, children, and men, a good proportion of whom readily said they wanted to become Christians. With a view, then, to leading them all away together we went on collecting them in the house of a person friendly to our Society, who received them with great charity." While this was going on, the Viceroy arrived and passed just by this house on his way to the church. Thereupon, an outcry was made by people who are described as "old men and women, and others who had neither thought of becoming Christians nor could imagine that the Viceroy would want to speak to them." The Viceroy immediately called them out and asked them whether they wanted to become Christians. Almost all said no. They were then told either to go home, or, if they wished to become Christians, to proceed to the village church and join the elders. Here Francisco Rodriguez with other Jesuits awaited the Viceroy and received the people in the following wise: "As the people came in he asked them whether they wanted to become Christians. Those who said yes were placed on one side, while those who said no were placed on the other side in order that the Viceroy might speak to them on his arrival. And this he did, asking them whether they wanted to become Christians. Such as said yes he placed among those who had already pledged themselves, to the others he said they could in all freedom go home as they did not wish to accept our Law. Thus, a roll of more than 400 persons was drawn up. Some people who were concerned about their own interests and had neither regard for God's honour nor zeal for souls, seized this occasion to accuse and say that the Religious were making Christians by force, because of the shout which those people gave when they were going to be taken to St. John's [the church of Carambolim]. But as a matter of fact, these people who were gathered here were not of the number of *ganvcars* who were enrolled over there; for they were the masons, carpenters, and other artisans who reside there. . . ."

The critics got their answer the following Sunday, June 23. It being the eve of St. John the Baptist, the village patron, the Viceroy went thither that day for religious service. Some seventy of those who had joined in previous Sunday's outcry

now awaited him at that very place, having collected about fifty of their women in the very same house. As the Viceroy approached " they went forth to meet him, they surrounded him and said aloud that they wanted to become Christians very much of their own free will since their hour had come, and that their women and children were there inside." Pedro d'Almeida, who happened to be there, did not lose the opportunity and, after the Viceroy had passed on, " as the gentlemen of horse came up he kept on asking the people in a loud voice whether they wished to become Christians and whether it was of their own accord or because they had been in some way compelled to do so. They replied in the same or even higher tone that they wanted to become Christians and that no one was forcing them, that of their own will they wanted to be baptised to save their souls."

The following day, a general baptism was held in the course of which 574 souls were initiated, many others having to wait for the next occasion. It being the feast of St. John the Baptist, a large number of pilgrims from the city was also present, so that everything happened under the eyes of the critics. Here, too, an indication is not lacking that many people had begun to experience a leaning towards the Christian faith already some time before, for the account concludes thus: " According to what the elders of St. John's who became Christians now say, their deity used to tell them, ' This saint whom you call St. John, who occupies the church where formerly was the temple in which I was honoured, is greater than I—indeed, he is a first cousin of mine; and to make room for him it is necessary for me to leave you and go to the mainland '." [11]

We have seen how, although some young men of Divar became Christians after being taken into custody, already before that many people of the island had begun to feel that they would have to become Christians. Yet another such example comes from the year 1564. On Sunday, 1 October, that year, the Jubilee of Pope Pius IV was proclaimed from the pulpits. As one could gain its benefit by bringing a non-Christian into the Church, it spurred on some Christians to special efforts. The greater part of the Islands was already Christian but there still remained a fair proportion of Hindus. The effect of the Jubilee on these is thus described by Viceroy Noronha in his

BARDEZ, THE GOA ISLANDS, SALSETTE

from Fonseca's *Sketch of the City of Goa*

letter of December, 1564, to the Court: "Praise be to God, Christianity has progressed so much in this island that not one part out of ten are still Hindus. And as for this small part which yet remains, the plenary indulgence which came this year in the ships which brought me—an indulgence which the Holy Father conceded to anyone who should bring a non-Christian to the Faith and which was proclaimed from the pulpits—sufficed for many of them to leave the island and pass over to the other side. Because some zealous and devout persons began to desire to gain the indulgence and sought out and persuaded the Gentiles more insistently than before, they feared that they were going to be made Christians by force. But I immediately stepped in, and so did the Archbishop on his part, for he is not of the opinion that they should be made Christians except of their own will, employing for the purpose methods which the Gospel recommends and none others. Thereupon they became pacified and quieted down. Neither did the Religious fail to be of the opinion that things ought to be done in this way; nor the Fathers of the Society, who have dedicated and dedicate themselves to this task above all others, and who, in my opinion, do here the greatest good and are the most beneficial." [12]

Viceroy Noronha's report offers us an opportunity of checking Jesuit descriptions of the Jubilee. Thus, one Jesuit wrote to Europe that year, "such was the fervour of the Christians that everyone tried to bring Gentiles to be made Christians." [13] The annual letter of that year, too, said in similar terms, "As for the people's fervour in gaining the Jubilee, it appears clearly from the way they work for it." [14] Now Noronha himself needs to be corrected, inasmuch as on judicial inquiry it was found that no coercion had been practised. We are led to infer that there was indiscreet zeal in the beginning, but not to the extent to which the Jesuit accounts, written as they were to 'edify' readers in Europe by extolling the manifestation of Christian zeal, might lead one to think." [15]

It was in such circumtsances that, on the very day the Jubilee was announced, a well-to-do young man, a Christian of about four years' standing, brought to St. Paul's an octogenarian Hindu, described as "a famous Gentile preacher." We learn that "this old man in no way wished to become a Christian

but was most resolute and determined, saying we could kill him and amputate his feet and head if we wanted, but that he would never become a Christian." He was sent to prison under the law of 1559-60 banning Hindu ministers. Our account then continues: "After that, on the following Friday they brought him here purely of his own accord, saying that he wanted to become a Christian and announcing to others the faith of Christ our Lord. Among the things which the Father Bishop [Melchior Carneiro] told this Gentile through an interpreter, a native priest, were the following three. The first was that he would like to know from him whether he had any difficulty or doubt or thought against the Law of Christ and regarding their own rites and customs. He replied that he had no difficulty or doubt about the faith of Christ but believed it all and that it seemed to him very holy and good. . . . The second thing was that he should say why he was becoming a Christian. He answered that a long time before, when the Portuguese first came to this land, they began to build high on a hill the first church which is called the church of Nossa Senhora de Monte,[16] and that this was regarded as a sign that the Christians would spread their conviction among the inhabitants. The third thing he told him was that he should say what exactly made him become a Christian. He answered that, many years before, he had sometimes dreamt he ought to become a Christian and that the recent events had brought all that to his mind and he was therefore becoming a Christian."[17] This narrative again illustrates how inclination towards Christianity was already there before the law was applied.

A similar example is furnished by the annual letter of 1567, and it is given here because during all this period it is the only recorded example of action being taken under the clause forbidding cremation in the law of 1559-60. There was a doctor, considered to be the most learned and reliable among his Hindu colleagues. To continue in the words of the original: "It was now twenty-two years that he had been wanting to be a Christian and had learned the Christian faith. But the enemy of our salvation, the devil, turned him away from his purpose because of his Gentile relatives and other human considerations, and this not only in the beginning but even later, whenever he manifested the same desire. But God Our Lord arranged for

him to become a Christian in such a way that the devil could not impede him. His wife happened to die and he secretly sought to have her corpse taken to the mainland for cremation according to his gentile rite. And he did this because His Highness has forbidden Gentiles to be cremated in his territory or to be taken out for cremation. But he was unable to do it with such secrecy as to avoid detection, and he was arrested in the act. As he himself later said, the sense of shame now made him reflect and he became convinced that God our Lord now stood face to face with him in this manner because he had not become a Christian earlier." [18]

In the light of modern social thought some of these laws were certainly arbitrary, but that things might be seen in their proper perspective it is just as well to conclude this topic with an incident which evinces how Hindu society, too, at that date deemed it right to employ a measure of coercion in order to prevent a person from doing what was regarded as wrong or socially dishonourable. In 1558 a man from a respectable family was on the point of becoming a Christian. His elder brother thereupon pretended to be ill and, as soon as he came to visit him, put him in chains. The man escaped and took refuge in a Christian home. Viceroy Bragança had the elder brother arrested; whereupon, he too declared his readiness to become a Christian.[19]

We have seen that many hesitated to accept Jesus' message because by accepting the social fellowship of Christians one laid oneself open to reproach, except when one did so under appearance of constraint. There was also reluctance due to the bad treatment which Christians till 1557 met with at the hands of some Portuguese. It was in order to meet these difficulties that general baptisms were celebrated with great festivity and catechumens provided with special clothes for the occasion, the expenses being met partly from the public treasury and partly from private benefactions. The presence of the Governor or Viceroy and high Portuguese gentry further enhanced the festive character of these celebrations.[20] Here is a description of the first such baptism held at St. Paul's on 29 June, 1557. "After the mid-day meal," we learn, "the Governor, accompanied by all the other gentry of India, came here to the college to hear vespers. The Christians had already the previous day

been assigned their various god-parents in the city who clothed and accompanied them. The church was very well arranged and decorated, and the street leading to the college was refreshingly [adorned] with branches and reeds. Solemn vespers ended, the children sallied forth in procession from the college with their palms and caps, and the Father Patriarch [Joao Nunes Barreto], the Governor, other Fathers and Brothers of the college, and a large crowd of people in the same procession, all waiting for the Christians, who were due to proceed from the house of a certain Diogo Pereira, a man very attached to the Society and a very intimate friend of Father Master Francisco [Xavier], whom Diogo was to take to China, himself going along as ambassador.[21] The Christians came forth from his house in good order, all with candles in their hands. The small children went ahead together with the children of our institution, their fathers came next, and finally the mothers. As the children moved in procession they chanted psalms and hymns to the sound of many instruments—flutes, trumpets, and drums—which the Governor had ordered to be present. The church was well decked with banners and with every other emblem of joy. The Governor had his god-children and so did every member of the gentry. Such was the Governor's pleasure at seeing them that during the whole ceremony, which lasted about three hours, he stood near the font at the entrance of the church. Father Joao Bravo, the prefect of the church, performed the preliminary ceremonies and, after that, two Fathers conferred baptism. This was done in order that there might be time for the women, who were being held over till after the men. Baptism ended, the Father Patriarch and the Governor together with the neophytes and the rest, after prayer to the Blessed Sacrament, went round the courtyard in procession, all with lighted candles in their hands and as happy and joyous as people who experienced the pristine state of innocence. As for the women, at the end of the ceremony some of them went home, while others were lodged in the hospital that night. All the men and children were lodged here in the college, and in the garden in front of a small shrine of St. Jerome we Jesuit students had laid tables for all to eat together . . . really the tables and the harmony and union seemed to be those of the primitive Church, when the newly

shed Precious Blood of Jesus Christ Our Lord and the efficacy of his most holy grace held together and transformed the hearts of those Christians so that they lived in great union and harmony." [22] The subsequent solemn baptisms all followed this pattern.

We now come to certain events of 1560 which Heredia seems to have had in mind. When the marriage season arrived that year, forbidden ceremonies were celebrated at several places so openly and some of those detained showed themselves so ready to become Christians that they seemed to have been seeking some such opportunity. In Chapter II we saw something about the people's meticulousness on points of honour. The solemn baptisms appealed to this side of their temperament; for we learn that several expressed their willingness to become Christians after they were told that those who had already assented were honourable people and would be made Christians with great honour, whereas they would have to undergo the penalty. It was not long before they too said they were honourable people and wished to become Christians. A law official used to be generally present all through these proceedings. We further learn that "many of these soon went back in search of their wives, children, and relatives in order to make them Christians, and they did this with such readiness and diligence that they seemed to be Christians of long standing." [23] Our source does not attribute an exclusively religious conviction to those who were moved by the appeal of honour, but neither did they seem to feel that they were being coerced.

Now as many of these events took place at night, that being the time of the ceremonies, the mention of women in these episodes recalls Heredia's allegation that his erstwhile colleagues "were cursed for turning Jesuit students into warriors and sending them forth at night as well as in day time with arms and maces and candles, and sometimes without light, to search out women in their homes in order to arrest them." When speaking of the Christian humanism of those priests we had occasion to note their regard for womanhood. If, then, we try to find the reason for Heredia's remarks, it probably lay in occurrences like the following. In the south-west corner of the city, where stood the church of Our Lady of Light, there lived an Ethiopian widow named Catarina de Farao who was

respected by her Hindu neighbours. She had thus been able to go on convincing several of them to become Christians. One day, learning that some forbidden ceremonies had been performed she repeatedly asked the Jesuits to intervene. Eventually, because it was felt that the people were disposed to become Christians, Pedro d'Almeida and two Jesuit students went thither on the night of 14 June, 1560, accompanied by a law official expressly sent by Viceroy Bragança. Night time was chosen because it was the sowing season when several families are occupied in the fields during the day. What followed is thus described in the annual letter of November that year: "That same night a hundred and twenty persons were brought to this college, who all rose to leave their homes in order to become Christians, and this with such peace, tranquillity, and joy that they seemed to have made up their minds many days previously and were waiting to be led. The children began saying to the Jesuit students, 'Father, there you have my father'; the mother, 'I am going to fetch my daughter'; relatives looked for one another—a wonderful sight indeed. . . . The following day, in the afternoon, she [Catarina de Farao] sent a written message to the college that she had in her house 53 people who wanted to become Christians. Father Antonio da Costa, the prefect of the church, was sent with two or three students. They went round all that evening gathering yet others from all over so that, lo and behold, they turned up in the college porch at 11 o'clock in the night with nearly a hundred souls, all aglow with the light of the torches they carried. Among them were many women with their babies clinging round their necks, while some had about them as many as five children. There were also very honourable and rich merchants, men of ample substance, and among them a centenarian with his forty-year-old son." [24]

All this is a little different from the impression one gets from Heredia. Furthermore, if we except Heredia, we find no indication anywhere else that the Jesuits carried arms on these occasions. This is all the more remarkable, since the debate round the Rigour of Mercy was so sharp and Torres had independent access to critics. The only sure example we have of it is the Brother of Chorao, who in 1557 handled a matchlock in self-defence,[25] and we know how Laynez expressed the

feeling of the Order on that occasion. Quadros's answer to that seems to be lost,[26] but the way he, on orders from Laynez, received the first Indian into the Order well attests his own disposition readily to obey.

It will be remembered that one of the points in Torres's criticism was that the request of those who asked to be arrested was acceded to, and to this category we must now turn. It has already been pointed out how mediaeval Hindu jurists held that, though those who under duress consorted with Mlecchas stood rejected from Hindu society, they were not to be viewed as having disgraced themselves. In the annual letter of 14 November, 1559, we have the following description of how these arrests actually worked. Close to the church of Carambolim there lived a man who hesitated to become a Christian for fear of disgracing himself in the eyes of his relatives. He therefore thought of doing as though he was celebrating Holi, which was expressly forbidden by the law of 1559-60. This feast falls in the lunar month coinciding with February-March and its general characteristics are as follows. An areca palm, a plantain tree, or a branch of some other tree is set up and a fire kept burning round it all through the night, while boys and men sing and dance round it. The present practice in Goa of ceremoniously burying the palm or branch may date from the law of 1559-60, forbidding 'public' celebration of the feast. Another feature is the beating of drums and blowing of horns and uttering a loud cry while beating the mouth with the hand. This is attributed to the primitive belief that harmful spirits are scared away by noise. In the Konkan, moreover, men go about dancing dressed as women. Yet another feature is the throwing of coloured liquid on one another and passers by.[27] Not all these features are today regarded favourably by everyone.

The man, then, cut an areca palm, betook himself to the priest André Vaz, and showing it to him said: "Father I cut an areca palm knowing that if I were found with it I would be sentenced to the penalty I was thereby drawing on myself. I now want you to go and accuse me to the Vicar General that you found me with it, for then I shall become a Christian without fear of my relatives. If not, I tell you, I shall accuse you of not taking advantage of this expedient which I myself was

offering you." The priest acted on the suggestion. Others sent word that a law official should go and pretend to arrest them, but should release them on nearing the city in order that the Portuguese might not think they were being brought by force. The annual letter of 1559 assures us that this happened very often and therefore abstains from giving further examples.[28]

Archbishop Gaspar, however, was not in favour of acceding to such requests. Hence, during his second term, the Provincial Council of 1575 enacted the following decree: "It often happens that some Gentiles of the higher classes ask for baptism on condition that they be subjected to some sort of force, so that their relatives might think they incur no blame by thus losing caste, owing to their doing so under duress, even though it be only in appearance. The Council therefore declares that such a dishonourable condition should in no way be complied with, because the purity of the Faith does not suffer even the shadow of such force; how much more so, since the petitioner can very well go elsewhere and there receive holy baptism."[29] There were, however, others who saw nothing objectionable in this, since it was not a question of force but, at most, of others thinking so. As against this, they pointed out that the people very well understood that these were seeming arrests. The third Provincial Council returned to this point and declared that it was not against the above decree to make people think of becoming Christians by showing kindness or remitting a just penalty.[30]

One has also to note that the law of 1559-60 actually forbade celebration of 'public feasts', whether at home or in the open. In practice, when such cases came up before the courts, the magistrates used to free the accused if the ceremony had not been performed in the open.[31] The first Provincial Council appealed to the King to prohibit "all ceremonies whatsoever, whether public or private." Viceroy Noronha thereupon passed a provision forbidding "public ceremonies or such as could be proved by witnesses." However, a royal law of 1581 once again limited the prohibition to "public ceremonies and rites," and the third Provincial Council raised no objection to it.[32] Moreover, all this while, despite the protest of the first Provincial Council, Hindus were allowed to visit shrines and attend feasts

outside Goa, thus showing that the strict prohibition which led to the arrest of the young men of Divar in 1560 was of short duration. The third Provincial Council limited itself to saying that no permission to go out should be issued when asked for expressly in order to visit shrines. And we learn from Pietro della Valle that during his stay in Goa in 1623, Hindus openly crossed over to the Bijapur side in order to bathe opposite the sacred place Naroa, on Divar.[33]

A word needs also to be said about the confiscation of the property of those who fled. As we saw in the previous chapter, when in 1561 Viceroy Coutinho decreed that such property would be restored if the owners returned, he expressly referred to a proclamation of Bragança promising security to those who came back and threatening with confiscation those who did not. We only know of one such proclamation, and that was when in August, 1559, several Brahmins of Chorao planned to cross over to the Bijapur side. We have seen what steps were taken to stop them, but some did go over and, in keeping with local custom, their property was due to be confiscated should they absent themselves permanently. This is what Heredia must have had in mind when he spoke of so many people leaving Chorao "that the Fathers were obliged to arrange for the rice to be reaped and gathered and stored up, in order to return it all to the owners when they should put in an appearance." When, however, we try to determine how many were affected, we get from the Brother of Chorao a soberer picture than Heredia's. For he tells us that, on hearing of Bragança's intention to be present at the baptism of 29 August, 'some' people became agitated and fled; but he also adds that some of these, though not many, later availed themselves of the Viceroy's proclamation and returned. And the only figures we possess for Chorao seem to bear out the Brother. For we learn from Heredia himself that in 1552 there were 3,000 souls, of whom 300 were Christians. Next, the annual letter of 1563 says that the Christians then numbered 3,000 and that there were still some Hindus besides. Three years later, however, we learn that the Christians numbered approximately 2,470 and that the Hindus were far fewer in number. That would give us more or less the same total as that of 1552. Allowing that our figures

are approximate, that gives us an idea of how many could have left.[34]

When therefore Laynez said that the charge of coercion had no "foundation in fact or reason", he failed to understand that there were instances of violence to consciences; but all that we have seen also helps us to pronounce on the general correctness of his assessment. Indeed some prominent critics themselves changed their minds when they saw things with their own eyes. The annual letter of December, 1560, has preserved for us two such examples, which Souza later re-edited in a rhetorical form. The argument of the critics briefly was that though the Portuguese had been in Goa for the last fifty years, people had never become Christians in such numbers as in the single year, 1560, when about 20,000 people were baptised;[35] hence, they concluded, it must be under duress. The first critic and the change wrought in him is described as follows: "One of the most prominent critics, and one who often discussed at length this subject with others, happened to pass through the street just as a large group consisting of people held in honour in the Islands, such as village elders and other prominent persons, were of their own accord on their way to the college, all very happy and glad to become Christians, bearing branches in their hands, exulting for joy and singing [Christian] doctrine. The man was as though beside himself, and seeing a Father of ours jumped off his horse and going up to him said thrice in his ear, 'I believe, I believe, I believe'. The Father, although he understood, asked him what he meant. The man explained himself, 'Father, now that I see it with my own eyes, I firmly believe that they become Christians of their own will and that we deserve to be punished for criticising'."

The other critic is described as "an old man, and one of those held in honour in the city." He expressly came one day to St. Paul's to reprove the Jesuits. Our account then explains thus what met his gaze: "The courtyard full of men and boys about to be baptised and the access to the church blocked by women and girls who were there for the same purpose. Taken aback at what he beheld, he raised his hands and eyes to heaven and, according to those who saw him, tears of joy fell from his eyes. He went back home without saying a word and, returning after I know not how many days, said to one of our Fathers, 'Father,

one who criticises this work cannot make amends except by joining in it and gaining the souls which are being lost by our bad example. Here I bring eighteen for baptism : for the love of God, forgive me for their being few, but I shall bring as many or more for the next solemn baptism you happen to hold.' He did so, and from that time on has always helped as far as he can." [36]

And here it is necessary to pause and consider the significance of what happened. The Goan historian Narayan Bhaskar Nayak says, " in those days a simple method of making Hindus lose caste was to give them Christian food."[37] This fits in with Quadros's explanation that the preliminary step consisted in accepting the social fellowship of Christians by taking cooked food from them. The annual letter of 1560 further adds that it also sufficed for them to drink from a vessel used by a Christian. One who did this was regarded as *batalo* or polluted.[38] Now this was but the outcome of the prescriptions of the Dharmashastras. Quadros's theological judgment that the custom proceeded from the devil [39] seems to us today rather unsympathetic, but it was shared even by the sympathetic Pietro della Valle, who in describing widow burning could, like St. Jerome, admire the conjugal fidelity of those women, even while deprecating the custom.[40]

While traversing Kanara late in 1623 della Valle had some difficulty in procuring food. After explaining how the inhabitants kept his Indian companion at arm's length because of what they held to be his low birth, he goes on : " Though they were not shy of me, albeit of a different religion, because they looked upon me as a man of noble race, . . . I found much trouble in reference to my diet. For these Indians are extremely fastidious in edibles, there is neither flesh nor fish to be had amongst them; one must be content only with rice, butter, or milk, and other such inanimate things, wherewith nevertheless they make no ill-tasted dishes; but, which is worse, they will cook everything themselves, and will not let others either eat or drink in their vessels; wherefore, instead of dishes they gave us our victuals in great palm [plantain] leaves, which yet are smooth enough, and the Indians themselves eat more frequently in them than in any other vessel. Besides, one must entreat them three hours for this, and account it a great favour, so that, in brief, to travel in

these parts requires a very large stock of patience. The truth is, 'tis a most crafty invention of the devil against the charity so much preached by our Lord Jesus Christ to put it so in the heads of these people that they are polluted and become unclean even by touching others of a different religion."[41]

Now if Quadros's verdict can be attributed to theological prejudice, the same cannot be said of della Valle. In fact, the prescriptions of the Dharmashastras in a measure constitute a rejection of human fellowship, and, in the face of that, the reaction of the traveller and the priest was surprisingly identical. Indeed, it is by eating and drinking together that human fellowship most naturally expresses itself, a fellowship which is, on the other hand, in theory upheld in the Dharmashastras, where in one place we read, "one who desires happiness should look on others as one looks on oneself. Happiness and misery affect oneself and others in the same way."[42] It was precisely by appealing to this principle of common human fellowship that, in the very age in which these things happened in Goa, Vitoria and Suarez laid the foundations of modern international law. As Suarez wrote in a famous passage: "Although the human race is divided into various peoples and kingdoms, it is held together not merely by the bond of a common humanity, but also by certain social and moral bonds which are manifested through the precept of mutual love and kindness, which embraces all men, even foreigners, whoever they be."[43]

Indeed, to accept the message of Jesus one has also to accept universal human fellowship; and full acceptance of this fellowship implies, as the sannyasi of Anjidiv finally realised, both an understanding for other men's freedom to use all of God's creatures and a readiness to share their table. According to the social ideas of the time, one who acted on this ideal became an outcaste, though he did not incur disgrace if he could say that he had done so under compulsion. That is the reason why many resorted to the expedient of getting themselves arrested. The first Provincial Council took cognizance of this situation in a decree which reads: "If a non-Christian comes in the way of a person who wants to become a Christian or induces him not to do so, or chiefly because of his becoming a Christian ill-treats him by deed or insulting words, and ridicules him by reproaching him to his face that by becoming a Christian he

has lost caste or such like things, which is a cause of recent Christians losing heart or growing cold and sometimes abandoning the Faith and of non-Christians failing to become Christians for fear of suffering the same fate; such a one should be severely punished by the prelates as a disturber of the Faith and an offender against the honour of the Christian name."[44] Although, as we learn from Quadros, the situation eased after 1560, this circumstance has to be kept in mind in order to understand a disposition of the third Provincial Council, which was not limited to Goa and which required Christians to live apart from their non-Christian kith and kin.[45]

On the other hand, because acceptance of universal human fellowship in this form appeared so closely linked with acceptance of the message of Jesus itself, the first Provincial Council forbade food to be forced on an unwilling Hindu. "In some parts of this Province," ran its decree, "the Gentiles are divided according to clans and castes of higher and lower ranks, and Christians are held to be the lowest. And this is carried to such unreasonable lengths that no person of a higher caste may eat or drink with one of a lower, so that one who does so loses his caste and its privileges and is reduced to the grade and rank of the inferior person with whom he ate, such a one being called *batalo* in their language,[46] that is to say, one who has lost caste. So rigorously does their religious system require them to observe this unreasonable practice that even in extreme necessity one is obliged to starve rather than eat or drink with one's inferior. The Holy Synod resolves that no one should give these Gentiles to eat against their will when they do not want to become Christians. For, besides it being evidently unjust to them, they might easily think that they are being thus given food in order to make them Christians, because they think they have to follow the religion of those with whom they eat. But this rule is not to be observed when a person is in extreme or grave material necessity; for then the law of God is to be observed by even forcing the starving person to eat.[47]

It is instructive to compare all this with the method adopted later in the interior of South India, when, in the first decade of the seventeenth century and in circumstances which made it imperative to take into account the constitution of Indian society at the time, the Italian Jesuit, Roberto de Nobili, esta-

blished Christianity at the university centre of Madurai by presenting himself as one socially unconnected with the older Christians to consort with whom the leading classes were forbidden by caste rules. For the same reason he ministered unobtrusively, and that only when necessary, to the weaker classes even when they directly accepted Christianity from himself.[48] Under his guidance members of the leading classes accepted the common fellowship of all men in Jesus Christ and, in the course of the controversy round his method, testified as follows: "In these parts people understand by Parangis[49] vile individuals of low caste whom they hold in horror. After baptism we do not feel the same horror for them because the Aiyer[50] told us that they follow the same law and worship the same God as ourselves. Therefore, when we meet them we treat them with greater honour than before." This reply as well as the considerateness which these neophytes showed towards other Indian Christians bear witness that Christian brotherhood did much to mitigate caste exclusiveness among them.[51]

But de Nobili did not expect them to express their belief in common fellowship by taking food or drink with other Christians against their caste rules. Nor do the latter seem to have expected them to do so. For to the objection that he was giving cause for unrest, de Nobili replied: "In the other Malabar regions of South India it is quite usual for each caste to have its own church, and persons of a lower caste are not permitted to enter the churches or houses of higher ones, nor to eat and associate with them. Notwithstanding this, all are united in the law of Christ; for this unity does not demand a common table, but the common bond of charity and religion suffices."[52]

We thus see that though de Nobili took the caste system for granted according to Indian ideas of the time,[53] there was a measure of agreement between him and the men who evangelised Goa. Yet the course of India's social evolution since then has rather been towards the ideal for which the evangelists of Goa stood. The Constitution which an independent and united India gave itself in 1949 laid down that "no citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, or any of them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction, or condition with regard to: (*a*) access to shops, public restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment; or (*b*) the use

of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of State funds or dedicated to the use of the general public." [54] And P. V. Kane tells us that in practice common fellowship is today being expressed by an ever greater readiness among Hindus to take food from one another despite caste differences. "In modern times," he writes, "a person is more lax in taking food prepared with oil or ghee or milk. He may take such food from members of certain castes other than his own. But ordinarily he would not take food cooked in water from any person belonging to another caste or even sub-division of the same caste. In towns and cities there is a strong tendency to considerably relax these restrictions." [55]

Next, we have to examine how the decrees of expulsion were given effect to. In Chapter III it was explained that the idea originated in the belief that certain members of the administrative class vexed those who became Christians and prevented others from doing so, a belief which we find echoed by others in later years.[56] In addition to the complaints already quoted in Chapter III, here is what Miguel Vaz told King John III in his memorandum of 1545. "There is in this land," he wrote, "a caste called Sinai Brahmins, very opposed to the Faith, and not only do they themselves not become Christians, but, as far as they can, prevent others also from doing so and sustain their Gentile errors. They are wholly detrimental to the State, are the authors of all bad devices, and their loyalty cannot be trusted in times of need; for they only think of betraying us. . . . Let these Sinais who hinder the progress of the Faith be expelled, at least the chief ones, and I know that some are waiting for this to become Christians." Again, after preferring his request to have Hindu worship stopped in Bardez and Salsette, Miguel Vaz went on: "For the rest, let us do these people favour, honour, and justice, and let us not give them into the hands of Krishna and Gopu, Brahmins, about whom they were continually complaining. And knowing these two for the great tyrants they are, I for my part hold that people had good reason to complain."[57] In view of this express mention of Krishna, it is curious to observe that in 1534 Krishna himself had drawn John III's attention to certain of his compatriots, whom he

described as being in league with the Bijapuris and capable "in many ways of being prejudicial to your service." [58]

Now speaking of Constantino de Bragança's decree of April, 1560, Priolkar says: "On April 2, 1560, Viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança ordered that a large number of Brahmins whose names were appended in the rolls appended to the order should be thrown out of the island of Goa and the lands and fortresses of the Portuguese king." [59] We have, however, seen the circumstances in which this decree was issued, and that it affected 30 or 40 families from the Goa Islands only. We further learn that, within nine months, one of these families returned and asked for baptism.[60]

The next expulsions that we know of took place under Viceroy Coutinho. On orders from Portugal he convoked towards the end of November, 1563, a council at which the Archbishop and representatives of the Religious Orders were present. To avoid disturbance, it was decided not to proclaim publicly and all at once the names of those who had to leave, but to charge the Chief Justice with informing those designated by the Archbishop or the Religious, and to send them out a few at a time. Accordingly, a viceregal decree of 27 November, 1563, required the Chief Justice personally to notify those to be expelled. Now the royal instructions also required the Viceroy to exclude from government service Hindu doctors and members of the skilled professions, but only to the extent to which it could be done without detriment to the State. The decree of expulsion was in keeping with that proviso; for whereas the instructions expressly exempted from banishment only those who personally tilled their fields, this decree in addition laid down that the ecclesiastics could not designate anyone from among doctors, carpenters, blacksmiths, pharmaceutists, and those currently holding revenue contracts. When it came to these, the Chief Justice had personally to satisfy himself that they were detrimental to Christianity. Those thus notified had to leave within a month and were allowed to sell their property either personally within the month or through an agent on expiry of that term. If they returned, they would forfeit their property and be sentenced to the galleys for life.[61]

We do not know how many were actually notified. Priolkar indeed states that the rolls "included all Brahmin residents of

the islands," saving the exceptions mentioned in the decree. And for this he quotes no authority other than the decree itself, which did no more than authorise ecclesiastics to designate the persons. But as appears from the annual letter of December, 1563, it was intended to designate only such as were deemed prejudicial to Christianity.[62]

We next learn that from the time Viceroy Antao de Noronha took office in September 1564 till the beginning of 1566 twenty-one persons were, on the initiative of the Jesuits, notified to leave. There were not wanting Portuguese who interceded for them and even warned the Viceroy that it was gravely sinful to send them away. But the Viceroy stood firm, and fifteen or sixteen of them became Christians. Yet others were notified in the course of 1566, the exact number not being known, and a considerable number of these too became Christians. Here again we are told that from their attitude it was clear that they were but awaiting this opportunity, in order to escape being ridiculed by their relatives.[63]

As for the decree of June, 1560, whereby Viceroy Bragança required goldsmiths either to fetch back their families and belongings or themselves leave, we do not know how many were actually affected or how it was carried out. We do know, however, that several goldsmiths had already become Christians a year and half before this.[64]

Since we have seen the penalty of confiscation associated with the law on rites and the expulsion decrees, it is necessary to add a few words on this subject. Summarising the position, we find that whereas the law on rites authorised outright confiscation, the decrees of expulsion enabled a person to sell his property and authorised confiscation only if he failed to leave or returned. Record of actual confiscation we have only for the couple of instances that occurred in 1558 and for those who left Chorao in 1560. Comparing this with what prevailed under some Hindu kings at the time, we find that it was not unusual to enforce against Christians the custom whereby one who fell away from Hindu society through contact with Mlecchas lost all property rights. The first Provincial Council invoked the help of the Portuguese king against this by a resolution which ran, "As soon as non-Christian kings of these parts come to know that their vassals wish to become Christians, they confis-

cate their property or lay unjust claim to it. This hinders greatly the progress of Christianity, for many do not become Christians for fear of losing their substance. Wherefore, the Council requests His Majesty to instruct his vassal kings to stop doing it. On the contrary, as soon as someone becomes a Christian let him be assured that his property rights will continue just as they were before he was a Christian. Once his property rights are thus assured, his creditors may put in their demands if he owes them anything. Let the same thing be demanded also of neighbouring kings. Should they refuse to accede to this demand and should they hold some property in our territory, let His Majesty instruct his captains and justices to compensate out of it the newly converted for what they have unjustly been deprived of for becoming Christians."[65]

Our information on this point is particularly ample with regard to Cochin. As early as 1529 King John III was requested to use his influence to make the King of Cochin desist from confiscating the property of those who became Christians. But things continued as before, and when Governor Estevao da Gama again protested, the King replied that he would continue acting as his ancestors had done. A little later, on orders from Portugal Governor Martin Affonso de Sousa got the King to issue a proclamation that the practice would be discontinued. The proclamation, however, remained a dead letter and in 1545 Miguel Vaz had again to request John III to intervene. But because the kings of Cochin had been friends and allies of the Portuguese ever since their arrival in India, the Portuguese authorities were reluctant to take strong steps, and in 1563 we still find the practice continuing.[66]

We have next to take up the law on orphans, about which *The Cambridge Shorter History of India* says that " the chief complaint which the Muslim chroniclers make is against the cruelty of educating orphans as Christians." [67] As the law stood towards the end of 1564, it required that custody be taken of a non-Christian orphan under fourteen neither of whose parents, grandparents, nor any other ascendant was alive. According to the principle laid down by Governor Barreto's law of 1557, however, a child could only be baptised at its own wish. Hence, if it was as yet incapable of distinguishing between what is gravely wrong and what is not, one had to wait

till it was old enough to do so.[68] As this law finds no mention in any of the criticisms we have seen, to understand its working it is necessary to go beyond 1567.[69]

To begin with, Portuguese law at the time required a guardian to be appointed for a child under fourteen on the death of its father. Every locality comprising 400 households or more was provided with a Judge of Orphans, who had to place an orphan under a guardian within a month of its father's death. The child indeed continued to live with its mother but its property was the concern of the guardian.[70]

Accordingly, the first Provincial Council requested that non-Christians too be brought under this law and their orphans provided with Christian guardians who would bring them up and look after their property. The Council added that the property of orphans would thereby be safer: for "experience," it said, "shows that their non-Christian relatives in whose charge they remain defraud them."[71] To one who understands something of the bonds that held the old Indian family together, it will be apparent that the Council must have generalised from a few instances of betrayal of trust. However, the main thing about the proposal was that it led to a very serious consequence: for since a Christian guardian could not in conscience permit a child to be taught things contrary to his religious convictions, he would be obliged to take the child away from its mother. And that is what began to be done after Viceroy Noronha by a decree of 10 December, 1567, complied with the Council's request.[72]

If from law we turn to Catholic theologians of the period, we find that broadly speaking there existed two schools. The first held that since a Christian ruler had an obligation to provide for his people's spiritual well-being and since the law that appointed a tutor for a fatherless orphan even in the mother's lifetime was just, it was clearly lawful to provide for the Christian upbringing of such children. The Goa theologians of this school, moreover, failed to see that it is not given to men to prevent every mistake and emphasized that a Hindu mother would teach her child things they clearly held to be wrong. They considered it wrong to baptise against its will a child which had reached the age of reason, but they saw no difficulty

in baptising without its mother's consent a child under that age whose guardian wanted it to be baptised.

The second school, while not denying the traditional conception of a Christian ruler's obligation, appealed to Natural Law. According to it, since this Law is manifested through certain fundamental impulses which the Creator has implanted in human nature and by which one judges what one has to do or avoid, the very fact of a mother's instinctive attachment to her child shows that on the father's demise his authority passes to her and that it is against the Creator's plan to tear the child away from her or to baptise it against her will. The argument of this school was brilliantly expressed by Francisco Suarez. He maintained, indeed, that a child which had reached the age of discretion could be baptised at its own request even against its parents' wishes,[73] but he was equally firm in saying that a child under that age could not be treated that way. Speaking first of non-Christians who are not subjects of a Christian ruler he says that to baptise a child under the age of discretion "it is necessary that it should be bereft of both parents and that it should have no guardian. . . . For if there is a guardian appointed by the parents, he has the same rights as they . . . the same is true if the guardian succeeds by some other title, as for example, because he is the grandfather or elder brother or because of some other legitimate title."[74] Then passing on to non-Christian subjects of a Christian ruler he holds that the same rule applies to them, for "just as they retain ownership of their property so also do they retain their natural right to their children." He further adds that "the prerogative of giving a child religious education and consecrating it to God is eminently a part of parental authority," and since grace does not destroy nature, this prerogative is not overruled by a directly ordained divine religion, but continues to subsist, and the parent is thereby privileged to dedicate the child to God as the author of a directly ordained divine Faith.

Both schools, however, held that even when both parents were alive a child could be baptised at the wish of either of them notwithstanding the opposition of the other. The first school hence argued that as the legal guardian takes the father's place, a child could be baptised at the guardian's wish alone.[75] Today it is evident to us that the natural guardian has to take

precedence over a merely legal one, and hence we have here an instance of casuistry unwittingly pressing a technical right to the point of injustice.

The second school never lacked adherents in Goa, but for a long time the first prevailed and orphans under the age of discretion were baptised regardless of the mother and other relatives. The matter came up at the Provincial Council of 1575 and its decree on the subject has been taken as illustrating the cruelty of this law. Thus, R. S. Whiteway basing himself on it affirmed that "mothers killed their children rather than subject them to this cruel law." [76] More recently, A. K. Priolkar, after quoting a Portuguese author to the effect that at a certain moment in the fifteenth century the Jews of Portugal "preferred to tear their children to pieces, strangle them, or drown them in wells" rather than hand them over to be brought up as Christians, goes on to add, "It is recorded that similar scenes were enacted in Goa when a similar order directed against the Hindus was promulgated there during the early Portuguese regime." [77] As the only 'record' cited is the decree of 1575, it is best to give the relevant passage. "Time has shown," it runs, "that as things go among the Hindus of this Province, Hindu mothers lose the natural right they have over the education of their orphan children under the age of discretion. For, circumventing the law, they send them to non-Christian lands lest the tutors should take them and they should become Christians. They will rather kill them when there is no other way out; for we find that when they give birth on what is according to their false belief an inauspicious day, they throw the child to wild beasts, so attached are they to their beliefs. The Council seeks to obviate such cruelty and petitions His Highness to make a law to the effect that, as soon as a Hindu father dies, the Judge of Orphans should take the orphan children, not with a view to baptising them before the age of discretion, except in cases in which the law and learned men allow it, but with a view to bringing them up well and giving them a good education in our lands, free from the danger in which the mother might place them." [78]

It was but natural that mothers should have attempted to send their children to homes of relatives outside Portuguese territory, and the Council showed singular lack of sensibility in

failing to appreciate this and deeming their action illegal. One thing however is clear: namely, the Council does not say that mothers killed their children rather than hand them over. What it says is that it fears such a thing might happen, given that mothers were accustomed to kill their children at the dictates of astrology. Yet another point to be noted is that the Council seems to favour the second school inasmuch as it states that it was not its mind that children under the age of reason be baptised against their mother's will. Usually, however, in such assemblies no view which for the time being appears reasonable is ruled out. And that is what happened here; for by adding that they could be baptised 'in cases in which the law and learned men allow it' the Council, in fact, left the first school free to act according to its conviction. It was probably after this Council that a law was passed forbidding orphans to be sent out under pain of exile and confiscation of property.

The subject was reviewed in 1600 when the Hindus petitioned Archbishop Aleixo de Menezes for a clarification on a point of law. It was again reviewed at the fifth Provincial Council in 1606. On both occasions existing practice was confirmed, but the fifth Council also took note of the fact that through honest error of judgment injustice had sometimes been done to non-Christians. To obviate this, the Council clearly expressed the position of the first school that a fatherless orphan under the age of reason could be baptised against the mother's will only if the legal guardian consented.[79]

Finally, in 1677 Viceroy Pedro de Almeida on orders from Portugal convoked a meeting to decide whether there should not be a reversal to the position of 1564; for many felt that this law kept non-Christian merchants away, with consequent loss of revenue. Two newly arrived Jesuits of standing spoke in favour of the reversal despite the contrary opinion of several other Religious, including Jesuits. The reversal was indeed effected, but since Portuguese power had long been on the wane for other reasons, merchants failed to flock in and revenue continued to decline.[80]

Today, of course, all Catholic theologians would, in keeping with Suarez and his school, repudiate as unnatural the idea of separating a child from its natural guardians in order to bring it up in any Faith whatsoever against their will, apart from

those instances in which a child, old enough to understand what God wanted of it, itself desired it for fear of being harassed.[81] The law was clearly an extreme instance of casuistry, but it remains to add that for all their insensibility the men who worked it did not mean to be cruel. And while Catholic teaching is today unanimous in rejecting this position, the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act of 1956 says that, should Hindu parents accept another faith, a minor child may be taken away from them and placed under a Hindu guardian. Moreover, we have it on the testimony of Francisco de Souza that, within the limits of their casuistry, those men tried to be humane. "I speak," he says, "with this sense of certainty, because I myself was Father of Christians and very well know the norms that were always observed in this matter." Orphans, he tells us, were instructed with much love and affection; if some orphan showed continued attachment to the beliefs in which it had been brought up, it was sent back home after a few days. Furthermore, mother and child were allowed to visit each other as often as they wished and, once the child was grown up, it could go and live with its mother.[82]

Next, taking up Governor Barreto's law of 1557 excluding non-Christians from employment, we find that it did not generally apply to private service, and the Religious themselves freely employed Hindu artisans and workmen. Thus, even in the time of Constantino de Bragança the Jesuits employed Hindu carpenters, tailors, masons, and washermen. Many of these, convinced by the persevering religious conversation of their employers, became Christians with their entire families. And of a cart-driver of theirs we learn that, while himself remaining a Hindu, he convinced others to become Christians and live happily in Goa rather than go over to the Bijapur side where life is said to have been hard for Hindus. The same thing was happening at the Dominican monastery where, owing to the gentle and friendly manner of Simao Botelho turned Friar, many Hindu workmen became Christians.[83]

Nor was such consideration shown only towards humble workmen. Even after Barreto's edict a Hindu lawyer continued to serve the Misericordia.

This institution originated at Lisbon in 1498 under the patronage of Queen Leonor and had for its aim to succour the

needy. Owing to its usefulness it soon spread to the overseas territories, the Goa branch being established probably soon after the death of Affonso d'Albuquerque.[84] Of the Misericordia of Goa C. R. Boxer, who shows no partiality for the religious policy of the time, writes: "The story of the Misericordia at Goa is one of the redeeming features of Portuguese imperialism in Asia and one which had no parallel in other European Asiatic colonies until modern times. In succouring the needy and oppressed, befriending the orphan, and guarding the patrimony of the widow and the fatherless, this organization performed a truly merciful task, and performed it very well."[85] By way of explanation, it must be said that the institution was meant for the Portuguese.

This, then, was the institution which our Hindu lawyer continued to serve, and we are told that he "pleaded its causes and drafted its papers as ably and authoritatively as though he were a member of the Board [of Misericordia]." He became a Christian in 1560, saying that Christian works of charity and religious books had convinced him of the truth of the Christian Faith.[86]

We learn, too, that the services of Hindu doctors and commercial agents continued to be sought all this while despite a protest here and there. With regard to commercial agents, the protests drew attention to the anomaly that one who was considered apt for such a post as long as he was a Hindu was held inept as soon as he became a Christian. But as pointed out by Viceroy Villa Verde in 1698, this was owing to the fact that, on becoming a Christian, the man did not any more enjoy the favour of his Hindu colleagues outside Goa. This explanation accords better with what we know of social conditions at the time than that given by the Crown attorney in 1738 and accepted by Priolkar: namely, that those who became Christians all did so only for reasons of convenience and lacked ability. On the other point, that of Hindu medical attendants, the Provincial Council of 1567 forbade a Christian to call in a Hindu physician, barber, or midwife without ecclesiastical approval. The inclusion of barbers will cause surprise unless it is remembered that a barber acted also as a surgeon. The reason given is that they were prejudicial to Christian faith and mora-

lity. Though the Council does not specify further, it probably had in mind the belief in omens and astrology.[87]

Hence, the law primarily envisaged the exclusion of Hindus from government employment. When dealing with the origin of Rigour it was seen how this idea also was prompted by the belief that certain members of the leading class made things hard for poor Christians. The Canon Law of the day too included a decree of the IV Lateran Council (1215), forbidding non-Christians to serve in government posts, the reason given being that they used "this opportunity to vex Christians very much."[88] Canon Law also included an instruction of Pope Gregory IX (1227-41) for Portugal, whereby, for the same reason, a non-Christian farmer of taxes was required to collect his dues through a Christian agent. Even Francisco Suarez, whose thinking was liberal for the times, accepted the justice of this position.[89] Hence it is that there were complaints now and again that taxes were being farmed out to Hindus. In 1571 the Court of Lisbon brought to the Viceroy's notice that not infrequently Christians competed for revenue contracts, but that these were afterwards given to 'other persons' exactly for the sum offered by the Christian bidder. In 1592 the Court again took cognizance of the fact that Hindus continued to be farmers of taxes and employees in other government agencies; and it now forbade this under pain of loss of office. While it was hardly fair to exclude a whole class because of the misdeeds of a few, all this seems to show that most of the time the Goa Government did not rigorously enforce the law.[90]

As for the hereditary posts provided in the native administration, there was no interference with them for quite some years. Thus we find a certain Vithu Sinai, who in 1553 was the scribe of the General Assembly, still holding that post in 1558. He probably became a Christian in 1562; for the annual letter of that year says that two important persons asked for baptism that year, one of them being "the chief scribe of the whole island."[91]

In 1567 we have for the first time a viceregal decree obliging Hindu village scribes to sell their posts, the reason given being that the holders would thereby more readily become Christians. The decree also sought to exclude Hindus from village assemblies when the majority of elders were Christians.[92]

This is also the place to speak of the order of 1565 requiring

the thanadars to conscript Hindu mariners first, and Christians only in order to make up the required number. This was very likely connected with the practice which already existed in 1545, and which, going beyond the Charter of 1526 obliging the people to supply free labour to clear the city walls and trenches, required them to provide free labour to beach Portuguese vessels and launch them again. Miguel Vaz had complained about this to King John III, pointing out that those drafted for this purpose were poor people who lived by their labour and were already required to pay an excessive share of their crops in taxes. The King showed his readiness to free Christians from this burden, but wished to have more information before deciding about others.[93] But nothing was done about it and the burden was even enhanced by requiring the people to supply unpaid mariners for the navy: things, however, were generally managed in such a way as to press only the Christians into service. When now in 1566 Hindu fishermen of Chorao began to be drafted, more than 200 of them readily became Christians and were freed from service.[94] One may doubt the religious sincerity of these conversions, but the incident recalls the earlier complaints that poor people held back because on becoming Christians they had to bear greater burdens than before.

On the people's petition the matter was reconsidered in 1572, and the Viceroy's board of spiritual advisers ruled that the Charter had to be strictly interpreted and that it was unjust to impose a greater burden than that specified therein; the board admitted that in times of need an analogous additional service could be demanded but never a more onerous kind.[95] No question, however, seems to have been raised about the hereditary posts. The very next year a government order sought to curtail the effectiveness of the Hindu village elders of Salsette. They were forbidden to hold either a general or a village assembly without the presence of Christian elders; where Christian elders were in a majority they were to be given preference, Hindus being admitted to the assembly only to make up the required number; no elder who did not enter the assembly could hinder its proceedings. Violation of these provisions were punishable with a fine which would go to provide clothes for catechumens. The order also contained a provision which applied to Hindus

and Christians alike and which, under threat of fine, forbade anyone to disturb the proceedings of the assembly "by quarrelling, laying hands, hitting, pushing, or beating, or drawing arms." [96] The question was reviewed in Portugal on the occasion of complaints that some of the Portuguese sought these native posts, and in 1582 it was ruled that the hereditary character of these positions had to be respected as provided in the Charter of 1526. This was an implicit acknowledgment that Hindu elders had been arbitrarily excluded. Nevertheless, the order of 1567 requiring Hindu scribes to sell their posts was not revoked, and the Provincial Council of 1606 insisted on its implementation, because the scribes were believed to use their position in order to induce Christians to sustain Hindu cult ouside Portuguese territory.[97] What we are to think of this reason will appear from the Appendix on the Inquisition.

We have next to take up the idea contained in Viceroy Bragança's order of 1559 requiring the leading classes to attend weekly religious discussions during the space of one year. The idea was not new, since as early as 1546 King John III had recommended that select preachers be sent round the villages sometimes in the year and that non-Christians be obliged to attend their instructions. For the next 14 years we have no indication as to how far this recommendation was carried out. In 1560 Provincial Quadros arranged for Jesuit students to go out to the villages to instruct Christians. This was continued in the following years and proved to be, on Quadros's estimate, an important means of spreading the message of Jesus; for the students availed themselves of this opportunity to come into friendly contact with non-Christians. In all the annual letters of these years, which speak so frankly of the laws against Hindu rites and of the steps taken to send away certain people, there is no indication that non-Christians were obliged to attend instructions. On the other hand, we have examples of Hindu boys joining their Christian playmates at these instructions and, if judged old enough to make a decision for themselves, being admitted to baptism at their request. A letter of 1564 suggests that there was generally no opposition from their parents, though one cannot conclude much from their bare silence. However about twenty years later, Valignano tells us that "as to the way in which Christianity here grows, we see daily how parents

themselves offer their tiny children for baptism either because they know our Law to be better, or because they think that by placing them under the protection of Our Lady, the Blessed Virgin, and by taking holy water, they will be freed from their maladies." Moreover, the very fact that Hindu children are spoken of as spontaneously attending classes would seem to show that non-Christians were not obliged to attend. Neither do any of the criticisms mention any such compulsion.[98]

The first Provincial Council, indeed, recommended that non-Christians be obliged to attend instruction every Sunday under pain of being fined. But the law actually passed by the Viceroy limited itself to obliging the residents of the cities of Goa, Bassein, Cochin, and Malacca. In Goa the Viceroy personally decided who had to attend, a general exception being made, as in Bragança's time, in favour of physicians and pharmaceutists in the service of the Government. Those designated had to gather fifty at a time every Sunday for an hour at the houses of the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits. This was, however, discontinued after two years owing to its ineffectiveness, and it was left to the fifth Provincial Council to attempt to revive it.[99]

The Council's thinking was conditioned by the wide scope attributed at the time to public morality and to a Christian ruler's obligations. Even Francisco Suarez who held that this method could not be used towards non-Christians who are not subjects of a Christian ruler thought that a Christian ruler could use it towards his subjects. One of the reasons he gives for it is the possibility of convincing them about the mistaken character of beliefs contrary to natural reason.[100]

This chapter may now be closed with the verdict of Gonçalo Alvarez whom Laynez's successor, Francisco de Borja, sent out as Visitor in 1568. Miguel de Torres was one of those consulted before the appointment was made and he expressed his confidence in Gonçalo Alvarez's ability for the task.[101] Among the instructions issued to Alvarez was the following one: "Let the manner of testing and instructing those who seek baptism be examined, as also the manner of fostering their Christian life after they are baptised; for some turn back. And although this could happen without any fault of our men, and I believe it is indeed that, nevertheless, because the matter is of such importance, it deserves special consideration and attention in order

to find means of preserving what has been well achieved." [102] Now Heredia's criticism, which was now surely available to Borja, contained just such a complaint. "I heard from reliable persons," it ran, "that in the land of the Muslims, that is to say, of Adil Khan, there was a market of the kind one sees at the Pillory in Lisbon. It contained clothes which the Christians who escaped thither sold, saying, 'Here, take your Christian, whoever wants to buy him'." [103] Borja's instruction, therefore, shows that at the centre there was always readiness to hear the other side.

After a couple of months in Goa, Alvarez wrote as follows to Borja in December, 1568: "Everything possible will be done with God's grace to foster and fortify the religious life of the recent Christians, and inconsiderate ardour and excesses, if at all there were any, will be checked." [104]

We have seen that the Rigour of Mercy derived from principles that were honestly held at a time when the idea of the State as a co-operative effort of free and equal citizens had yet to develop. We have also seen that the Rigour concerned a minority of those who became Christians. Instances of violence to conscience there were, but not for that can one say that all or even most of this minority became Christians under compulsion. Alvarez could not yet think of questioning the principles which inspired the Rigour of Mercy, and hence his failure to see that the instances of excess were really such.

CHAPTER VI

THE APPEAL OF CHRISTIAN CHARITY

THE evangelists of Goa were inspired by the ideal that all men constitute one family, and that they are moreover called to divine fellowship in Jesus Christ. Simao Botelho, Manuel Nunez, Antonio de Heredia, all of them acknowledged that the evangelists wanted to be loyal to their ideal. "I well believe that they proceed in everything with holy zeal and true," wrote Botelho.[1] "Even though they do all this with a good intention and, in their view, as an act of religion," confessed Nunez.[2] "Moved by religion and zeal," said Heredia of his erstwhile Superiors, even while describing their conduct in terms which meant anything but that.[3]

Now Jesus by word and example taught his disciples to testify to the vocation of all men to divine brotherhood, and to do so specially by helping them in their need after the example of the Good Samaritan. The fidelity of the early Christians to their Master's teaching and the effect it had on their fellowmen appears from the fact that the Roman Emperor Julian (A.D. 361-63) thought that the priests of the old gods of Greece and Rome would have to do the same if they wanted to revive the people's attachment for the ancient gods. "When none of the Jews beg," he wrote, "and the impious Galilaeans relieve both their own poor and ours, it is a shame that ours should be destitute of our assistance." [4]

The evangelists of Goa too understood that this is what their ideal demanded of them and to this aspect of their activity we must now turn. It was obvious to them that, in view of the condition of many Christians, they had to follow the practice of early Christianity. Some members of the leading classes might have indeed continued unmolested as suggested by Azu Naik when, probably with Loku Sinai in mind, he informed King John III in 1549 that some people connected with the leading families had become Christians without anyone coming in their way; and, already earlier, some such inference is sug-

gested by the presence of a Christian elder, Miguel Vaz by name, at the meeting of 28 June, 1541, when the villagers made over part of the income from temple lands.[5] But by far the greater number of Christians were from among the poor, and these, in keeping with the social usage of the time, had to cut themselves away from their families. There is certainly a danger that offer of help may make people accept Christianity for the sake of material gain. On the other hand the Franciscan Superior, Antonio Louro, failed to take this circumstance into account when he informed the Portuguese monarch in 1518, "It seems to me, Sire, if you assign a quantity of rice to be given as alms to such of these Gentiles as become Christians, conversions will multiply rapidly."[6] A similar inadequate understanding of the situation is to be found in the following statement of the Italian Jesuit, Nicolao Lancillotto. Writing to Ignatius Loyola in 1547 he said: "The people of this land are very evil and almost devoid of reason. Those who become Christians do so purely for temporal advantage and many of them for a bad end. Since people here enslave one another, the slaves of Muslims and Gentiles become Christians in order to gain their liberty; others, in the hope of being defended against tyrants; yet others, because they are offered a cap or a shirt or some other trifle; yet others, to escape being hanged; and still others, to consort with Christian women; so that, blessed is he who becomes a Christian out of virtue."[7]

It is true that in the early period people were not seldom admitted to baptism without proper instruction. But the way in which Lancillotto speaks of everybody as being 'very evil and devoid of reason' makes one hesitate to accept his sweeping generalisation. And one's hesitation will be all the greater when one learns that he was melancholic by temperament and himself acknowledged, "I am regarded as a pessimist."[8] Indeed, the very next year he revised his judgment to the extent of admitting that, if properly instructed, the people did act from a truly religious motive. "As they go on hearing the word of God and Christian doctrine," he said, "they gradually begin to worship God in truth, even though for some time they do not adore Him so very sincerely."[9]

It was left to the layman, Fernao Rodrigues de Castello Branco, to give us an explanation the truth of which is vouched

for by the social conditions of the time. Explaining why he asked the villagers to give up the income from temple lands he says: "Many people of these Islands have, as I have said, accepted and daily accept our holy Faith, most of whom are generally poor people. It seems to be both proper and a matter of good example that since they leave their fathers and mothers in search of a remedy for their souls, they should find welcome among us and be helped in their needs, in order that they might not be reduced to such straits as to make them fall into despair." [10] It is because poorer people had nowhere to go as a result of their becoming Christians that Castello Branco wanted some of this money to be devoted to helping them.

The danger of people in such circumstances becoming Christians for the sake of some paltry material advantage is, of course, not to be gainsaid. This problem confronted the early Christians as well, and St. Augustine, whose concern for real religious conviction no one will doubt, expressed the Christian attitude in the face of it, when he wrote: "It very rarely happens, indeed never, that a person of his own accord wants to become a Christian without in some way being impelled thereto by the fear of God. For if he wants to become a Christian because he thinks it is the only way of pleasing people from whom he expects some advantage or because he fears to offend and anger people who might otherwise make things difficult for him, then he does not really want to become a Christian but pretends to do so. For faith is not a question of making obeisance with the body but of believing interiorly . . . nevertheless, we ought so to deal with such a one as to bring him to this disposition even if he did not have it." [11]

The Christian practice, therefore, is to test people. That is what Lancillotto himself did when he was later posted at Quilon. "Two months ago," he writes in 1552 or so, "there came an old man and with great insistence besought me to baptise him, saying he wished to become a Christian not for any worldly advantage but solely for the love of God and that he knew the excellence of our Law above all others. I told him I would be only too glad to do so but would first teach him for thirty days before satisfying his request. And although he insisted very much and got others to intercede on his behalf that I should baptise him immediately, I none the less refused, and so he dis-

posed himself to hear me. He is a man of good judgment and understands all the Hindu rites. When he first began to converse with me, he related how he had wandered all over for 15 years, visiting all the temples and the holy and learned men who are to be found everywhere in this land . . . and in his heart he kept saying all the while, 'O my God, thou who didst make me, where shall I find thee?' He has been with me now for two months. . . . Yesterday, being Christmas day, I baptised him." [12]

Those who were not prepared to go through this test were denied admission by Lancillotto as we see from the next episode. "It is about a year now," he writes, "that an aged Gentile prayed me to go and baptise some people of his place, which is called Beringan [Vilinjan to the south of Trivandrum], fourteen leagues away from here. I did not go because, according to the information given me by some persons, these people sought admission to our holy faith in order only to be favoured by the Portuguese and not because they were convinced of its truth. I have never agreed to this since my arrival in India, nor did I ever think it proper to baptise them without their first knowing and understanding what concerns our faith. Such is also the opinion of all who are more learned than I. I explained fully to the old man what was required of him and the others to become Christians, and what it means to be a Christian. I said I was prepared to baptise them at the cost of my own life if they complied with all this. He replied that they could not comply; whereupon I rejoined that I could not baptise them." [13] Lancillotto lets it be seen that not all tested the people's sincerity; on the other hand, undue anxiety to do so can result in unnecessarily hard demands.

Manuel Nunez in his letter of 1559 to the Court says of Goa, "people came to like the idle life and favours with which they were allured into Christianity, so that many came from the mainland to take advantage of this novelty of food and dress. And it is a fact that many of them got themselves baptised three or four times for the sake of this attraction, and the Fathers in their simplicity and zeal for God's service were not at first aware of this. Now they are more careful and have decided to ask for sureties from those who come from the mainland to be converted." [14] Nunez surely speaks here of the Jesuits; for whereas

he earlier refers to the Dominicans and Franciscans as 'Friars', he reserves the term 'Fathers' for Jesuits. Hence, the phrases 'idle life' and 'this novelty of food' are Nunez's way of describing the Jesuit catechumenate. For precisely to ensure that the catechumens understood what it means to be a Christian, the Jesuits in 1552 started lodging them at St. Paul's and put them through a course of instruction lasting between two and three months. The men were lodged in the children's quarters hard by the Jesuit residence, and the women in the native women's hospital outside the college precincts where they were attended to by an elderly Christian woman. They were provided with food and lodging, and about the year 1557 Governor Barreto allotted 50 khandis or roughly 223 tons of rice for them. In the early years the number of catechumens maintained at a time was ten, twelve, or fifteen. Given the duration of the catechumenate, these would be sufficiently known so as to render it unlikely that they could present themselves a second time. It is true that when the movement towards Christianity grew under Viceroy Bragança, the number of catechumens sometimes exceeded 700 and their stay at the catechumenate was shorter. But these were residents of the Islands, contact with whom was kept up and whose instruction was continued after they returned to their homes.[15]

Mistakes and abuses there were; for if no proper inquiries were made, people baptised elsewhere could present themselves at St. Paul's. Indeed, in 1558, and therefore a year before Nunez wrote, the historian Teixeira admitted that this did happen and explained that "it is brought home to them how great a sin it is . . . to get themselves baptised a second time and how our Lord would punish them for it; hence, if anyone is found guilty of it, he is sometimes punished in their presence in order that they might fear to do the same." What other steps were taken we learn from the following passage in the annual letter of the next year. "Their conversion," it runs, "is so far from being a matter of compulsion that it often happens that Muslims and Hindus present themselves at the gate asking for baptism. Since they come from afar and are not known here, in order to test them some are turned away twice and thrice and told to return after some days and thus prove their sincere and firm resolve to become Christians. Others are required to

produce as sureties people who know them. Because of the delay involved in this, when they see that a solemn baptism is being held without them, by their sorrow they give evident signs of their sincere desire of becoming Christians." Even later, however, here and there people from far were presented at general baptisms without being known to the local pastors, who consequently began to have serious doubts. The fifth Provincial Council therefore provided that not more than a hundred people should be admitted to a general baptism and that the baptism itself should be at the place where the catechumens had been instructed and were well known.[16]

After discussing Nunez's 'novelty of food' we have to take up his 'novelty of dress'. He is here evidently alluding to the clothes given the catechumens at the time of baptism.

In 1557 Governor Barreto ordered 220 pardaos to be given for this purpose to the Jesuit catechumenate.[17] From then on, with the growth of the movement towards Christianity this requirement also grew. We are told, for instance, that when in August, 1560, preparations were hurriedly under way for the baptism of Chorao and Divar, "two [Jesuit students] were continuously present in certain houses where there were a hundred tailors who did nothing day and night but cut and stitch; and you had, besides, the clothes which many honourable and devout persons freely took it on themselves to make at home for the Christians." [18] Viceroy Bragança, on his part, had no hesitation in this matter, and, when at a certain moment Pedro d'Almeida expressed his fear that it might not be possible to provide clothes for all, he replied: "Father, get the clothes as best as you can since we cannot afford to wait. Go on borrowing in my name until I am thrown into prison for such debts. For I am resolved to spend even 100,000 cruzados on these Christians as long as there is money in the royal treasury."[19]

Here again there is certainly the danger that people might become Christians moved by the display and the offer of new clothes. But the display could also be a means of dispelling the fear that it was dishonourable to become a Christian. In the event, the custom proved a hindrance as we already observe at Carambolim in June 1560, when about 250 souls had to be left unbaptised for lack of sufficient clothes. Five years later an appeal had to be launched from the pulpit, explaining that

a thousand catechumens were being held up for lack of clothes; a house to house tour thereupon yielded 600 pardaos.[20]

How great a drawback this custom finally became comes out in the course of a lengthy memorial prepared by Valignano in the years 1579-80 for the Jesuit General. He explains how the custom of dressing catechumens, though originally meant to make it easier for people to become Christians, had by this time become a real hindrance; for people would not consent to be baptised unless given clothes, thinking they were being slighted. As a result of this, he tells us, "often two or three thousand catechumens put off their baptism for two or three years until someone provides them with clothes."[21] To understand the situation it will be of help to bear in mind that a poor family here and there is today confronted with a like problem when it has to dress its child for first Holy Communion; and, none the less, the custom of wearing new white clothes for the occasion has little to do with material inducement.

With that, we may now consider what form the appeal of Christian charity took.

And the first to attract our attention is the Confraternity of Holy Faith, founded in April 1541. Besides Castello Branco, it comprised Miguel Vaz, Diego Borba, the Chief Justice, and Cosme Anes who was then Registrar General. The Confraternity appointed as its first managing committee "two of the most earnest Portuguese and two of the most respected Goan Christians."[22]

The Confraternity's rules required the committee to "help Christians in their law-suits, attend to the spiritual and material needs of the sick, assist in burying the dead, have Masses said for the souls of the deceased, and prevent a Muslim from buying a Hindu slave."[23]

Accordingly, in keeping with a suggestion made by Miguel Vaz to the King as early as 1534, we find in existence about this time an official called 'Father of Christians', with the duty of caring for poorer Christians. He was assigned an annual salary of 60,000 reis. His was no easy task; for as the Cathedral Chapter told King John III in 1547, a certain Rui Barbudo, the then holder of the post, met with much harassment and little favour from officials and had, in fact, not been paid his salary for the last five years.[24]

Barbudo himself wrote to the King in 1548, saying that the judicial process was too dilatory and apt to consume much of the substance of poor Christians. He therefore recommended the setting up of a special judge for them and expressed his readiness to discharge that function himself. "For I know," he said, "no other way but this of providing them relief. Given the hardships I have to put up with from the Portuguese for the sake of these people, I would rather not accept it just now, but seeing their need I am ready to decide their law-suits rather than see them go from court to court without the matter ever being brought to a conclusion." Explaining further why Governor Garcia de Sa (1547-49) had, after resolving to give effect to the idea, been unable to do so, he said: "The scribes of the courts and the attorneys with their pleading prevailed on the head chancellor to speak to the Governor against giving effect to this resolution. They said that if the native people had someone else to decide their law-suits they themselves would be lost, not having wherewith to live. Thus, to provide such persons with a livelihood at the cost of so many poor people it was left undone and things remained as before." [25]

Barbudo's plan, however, was not wasted; for we find it already operating by the beginning of December 1555, after the Islands had been divided among the Religious Orders. Each Order now had a Portuguese layman as its Father of Christians, with authority to decide minor law-suits and punish when necessary.[26] By a decree of 17 December, 1555, Governor Barreto seems to have appointed one Father of Christians for the whole area, with power to try law-suits in which not more than 5 pardaos were involved, there being no appeal against his decision; the decree also defined his criminal jurisdiction as including the power to settle their quarrels and fights and inflict a proportionate punishment, but excluding any "crime involving blood." [27]

Soon afterwards, the title 'Father of Christians' came to be given to the priest in charge of making arrangements for the instruction and baptism of catechumens and of helping them in other ways, Pedro d'Almeida being the first Jesuit to bear it.[28] Hence, when a decree of 1580 further empowered the special judge of Christians to decide without possibility of appeal all civil and criminal cases where only Christians were involved,

he was no longer termed 'Father' but 'Protector and Judge' of Christians.[29]

The Confraternity's other aim, that of providing for the sick, found expression in the hospital attached to St. Paul's, and among the rules framed for the college by the Confraternity in 1546 was one which said: "Since it is very conducive to the conversion of the people of this land to let them see us doing them all works of mercy and justice, and also, since they must not be given occasion for saying, as they have commonly been doing, that after their conversion to our holy faith we no more care for them and neither attend to them in time of illness nor give them burial after death, a hospital was ordained for the people of the land and built close to the said house [St. Paul's] so that they might there be attended to; and a burial place was bought for them on the rising ground next to the back yard. The managing committee shall therefore take very special care to supply the needs of the hospital so that, as far as possible, all the poor who have recourse to it may, if they are Christians, be looked after; and the work should in course of time be amplified in the measure possible."[30] Governor Martin Afonso de Sousa made the hospital a grant of 300 pardaos out of the revenues of Bardez and Salsette, and subsequent Viceroys and Governors kept on renewing it till it was at last confirmed by John III in March 1556.[31]

The hospital, like the college, became a Jesuit responsibility, and as early as 1546 we find a Jesuit named Manuel de Moraes in charge of it. Then it came to be looked after by another Jesuit called Paul Camerino, who had come out from Europe in Francis Xavier's company and who bestowed on it such care that later Jesuit historians even came to regard him as its founder.[32] "He has," so wrote one of his brethren in 1552, "charge of the hospital which is joined to the college and there he devotes himself to works of charity in addition to the large amount of trouble involved in maintaining and repairing it; but our Lord always helps him."[33] And on the eve of his death, which occurred on 21 January, 1560, Francisco Rodriguez wrote of him to Laynez: "There is little to be said of him as he is at the end of his life, and when this letter reaches you he will already be with God; he leaves this people very edified, for he has spent himself for their sake to the great satisfaction

of all." [34] In a similar vein Melchior Nunes Barreto wrote about the same time: "Master Paul is poor of spirit and a friend of the poor; he insists on wearing old and torn clothes, exhibits great charity and exemplary compassion in the hospital for the poor of the land, of which he has now been uninterruptedly in charge for more than twelve years." [35]

In the years 1552-56 the average number of indoor patients was between 20 and 30, though at times there were more than 40 of them. By 1564 the hospital ordinarily housed 50 to 60 patients. Women were lodged in separate quarters where they were cared for exclusively by women. Such women patients as stood in need of surgery were directed to the hospital of the Misericordia. Though the hospital was originally intended for Christians it soon opened its doors to non-Christians as well.[36]

Of the care bestowed by Paul Camerino on his patients we have the following description from the year 1552: "He keeps everything very clean: the folding beds, mats, pillows, and mattresses. He employs seven or eight persons to nurse the patients and attend to their food and drink and all other needs, and he provides them all with necessaries. Moreover he has a pantry, newly made and very fine, stocked with all kinds of preserves and grains and pulses, with raisins and almonds, in short with all necessary provisions. His own hand dispenses everything in order that things might be put to the best use. There is moreover a very fine kitchen where food is cooked with great care, and also wells of very fine water. Besides, there is an enclosure where hens are kept for the sick." [37]

On Camerino's death the hospital passed under the care of a certain Brother Pedro Afonso. He had knowledge of surgery and Camerino himself had in his dying moments commended the institution to him. From the modest description, which this Brother sent to his fellow Religious in Europe after a year or so of being in charge, we get an idea of the state in which patients resorted hither. "This," he writes, "'is the most troublesome part of it all: to provide the necessaries, to see that the patients are kept clean, and to humour each one; for each follows his own whims, as is the way of the sick. And for this, there is need of great humility, charity, and discretion, all of which I exceedingly lack. Pray to the Lord for me that he may give me grace to persevere until the end. . . . When the Gentiles

of this land find themselves in the grip of incurable maladies and their belief in magic proves unavailing, their maladies and distress become for them a means of entering the fold of the Church. Some come with tumours, some with running sores all over the body, some with wounds, others with wounds from barbed weapons, and yet others with lance wounds; some come with broken legs and arms, and others gored by buffaloes. They come, as I say, dearest brethren, with such diverse maladies that I often do not know what to do, for they are maladies of which the ancient writers say nothing and I thus find myself helpless. Losing all hope in my own ability and thinking it impossible to cure them I pray the Lord and the Saints Cosmos [38] to show me what is the best thing to do, and then a remedy is found." [39]

Given the idea then current about the effect of taking food from Christians, it meant that Hindus who came hither had decided to become Christians. We find this happening already under Paul Canerino,[40] but it is from Pedro Afonso that we get a fair idea of how it came about. "As soon as a patient comes," he says, "I ask him about his wife and children and get a clear reply. I then inform the Superior and admit him. After he has been admitted and laid in bed he is taught something about our faith. If I have to perform some surgery on him, a Father is called in to make him a Christian: this, when I think there is some danger. Those who are in no great danger are nursed and, when well, are taken to the college to be made Christians at a general baptism. Here they are instructed as best as possible. Some of these men patients come bringing with them their wives and with great insistence ask that they and their children be baptised, saying it is the entire family. When the wives of these men come to see how they are, they bring along their sisters, relatives, and friends to be baptised, and this, with the greatest possible joy; they are then taken to the catechumenate for women, where they are instructed by a woman appointed for the purpose and who is assisted by other women. When the men get well and I bid them good-bye, they go away so happy and glad at being well that they promise to look for other patients, which is an added opportunity for me to do good if only I knew how to avail myself of it." [41] In 1563 seventy souls in all became Christians in this way.[42]

In 1568 the hospital was transferred to Margao in Salsette

and attached to the recently founded church of the Holy Spirit, and with the hospital went Pedro Afonso. As an illustration of how this institution impressed non-Christians at the time, Gonçalves narrates that in 1578 the Bijapur forces invaded Salsette and destroyed the church of Margao but left the hospital intact, "because it is a work of charity which they admire very much." [43] Still later, the hospital was transferred to Rachol, where it still was towards the end of the seventeenth century.

An occasional disaster also provided an opportunity for giving testimony of Christian love. One such occurred in 1562. "There was," we read in the annual letter, "a fortified structure where the powder of His Highness used to be stored. A spark fell on it through the carelessness of a boy and it blew up with such fury that most of this part of the city was destroyed. And since it was adjoining the grain depot where usually much business is done, the falling stones killed many people and broke the legs of others, while many others were burnt all over from the explosion of the powder so that they died within a very few hours; and most of these people were Gentiles. On receiving news of what had happened some Fathers and students of the college immediately left for the spot. And these afterwards told us how heart-rending it was, due to the pitiful spectacle that presented itself. For some were caught under stones, others under beams, some had their legs broken, others had been killed, yet others had been scorched by the fire. They found some of these Gentiles desirous of becoming Christians, and since they were at death's door they were immediately baptised. Those who were not in immediate danger of death were brought wounded here to the house, where later, owing to the sympathetic treatment and love they experienced in our hospital, they became Christians before their death." [44]

The prisons and galley slaves were also the objects of Christian attention.

Francis Xavier with his love for the poor and forlorn recommended to Governor Martin Affonso de Sousa to visit the prison once a month and hear the grievances of prisoners. Miguel Vaz said of it that it was the best thing ever done and that all Governors ought to be obliged to follow this practice. As for the prisons, he told the King: "I found many prisons badly made;

given that they are a necessary evil it would be well to enlarge them, for I know only too well what is happening."[45] We do not know what effect this recommendation had, but we do get a lurid description of prison conditions from the Jesuit annual letter of November 1559. There was, it tells us, no outlet for sewage, so that matter collected in a tank close to where sick prisoners were lodged and the "fetid smell by itself seemed sufficient to cause their death without any other previous illness."[46]

The galley slaves were kept in the *bhangasala*, the native word for 'a place of fear'.[47] It was situated on the river bank in the north-western sector of the city where the galleys were moored.

Like Francis Xavier, Gaspar Berze visited them regularly and did what he could to alleviate their needs.[48] The first mention of Jesuit contact with the *bhangasala* occurs in 1552, when a Jesuit student noticed there "many Muslims and Gentiles, all slaves of the King, and asked them whether they would like to become Christians."[49]

Some time between June and September, 1559, the Jesuit students fasted on seven or eight successive Fridays in order to provide fare for the prisoners. On these days the students could be seen leaving St. Paul's carrying food, as well as implements with which to clean up the place. Distribution of food done, "some put themselves to clear away the rubbish heap inside with the aid of spades and baskets; others, to sweep; others, to empty the vessels into the sea a good distance away, passing through the Viceroy's courtyard adjoining the prison and through crowded places that unavoidably lay on the way; other students occupied themselves in emptying the tank of urine and rotten water . . . for they felt sorry for the sick prisoners."[50] In addition, the Jesuits sometimes exposed the needs of prisoners to the children of their school, and these in turn moved their elders to help.[51]

As a result of such interest and sympathy, almost every year several persons both in the prison and the *bhangasala* asked to be instructed in the Christian faith.[52] From the year 1562 we have two specific instances.

We learn that the Jesuit deputed to assist those condemned to death, "used to help not only Christians to accept their fate with resignation but did the same for non-Christians as well,

comforting and consoling the former and trying to see whether he could convince the latter to become Christians before death." It happened that many did become Christians even though they knew that they would not be reprieved because of it. Thus, in our first example, the man was being actually led to execution not in the least wanting to hear of becoming a Christian. "Being a very hot day," so runs our account, "the officers of the law advised the Father to turn back seeing that, in view of the man's unwillingness, His Reverence would, by going the whole way, be taking a deal of trouble for nothing at all. The Father nevertheless persisted and requested them to have a vessel of water brought along in order to be able to baptise him should the occasion offer itself. And our Lord willed it so. For, on arriving at the place of execution, he became a Christian." The second example too is that of a man on his way to execution. "While the Father," we read, "was advising him to become a Christian, a non-Christian relative of his came up and told him to be absolutely firm in his refusal and to die in their ancestral law in which he had till then lived. The man replied that he wished to die in the Law of the Christians because he believed it to be the true Law in which men are saved, and he therefore preferred the Father's advice to his and wanted his wife and children to be made Christians after his death. The Father thus baptised him before his execution." [53]

An important form of fellowship was the help afforded by lay people to poor Christians. Thus, some time between 1550 and 1554 Viceroy Afonso de Noronha donated a piece of land for them hard by the church of Chorao. Here they came and settled down from all over the island, so that by 1556 a Christian village had grown up there. To enable them to work for their living, Francisco Rodriguez with the help of some sympathisers bought a parcel of ground and divided it among select persons. In general however those who had nowhere to go were either placed as domestic servants in reliable families, or, if they happened to be skilled workmen, employed in their respective crafts. God-parents took a conspicuous part in all this, even arranging suitable marriages for their charges if they were of age.[54] Singled out for mention in this connection is the Ethiopian widow, Catarina de Farao, whom we met in the previous chapter and who is in one place described as a 'virile

matron, very huge in size'. Notwithstanding the opposition she had to face, she continued to figure prominently at most of the general baptisms since many of the catechumens used to be personally instructed by her. She put herself out so much for their sake that every Christian was said to find in her a remedy for his ills.[55] After 1559 however our accounts speak little of efforts to settle people in life, as that must have been increasingly unnecessary because, with entire families and large sections of villages becoming Christian, they did not now find themselves helpless.

We have next to take up the laws on behalf of Christians.

Regarding slaves, Governor Barreto's decree of 1555 prescribed that non-Christian owners be compensated by having slaves who became Christians auctioned to Christian buyers. This was in keeping with the ideas of Azu Naik whom Barreto must have known when he was Captain of Bassein in the years 1549-52.[56] It was also in keeping with a treaty of 1548 between Bijapur and the Portuguese, stipulating that fugitive slaves from the Bijapur kingdom or of Bijapur Muslim merchants in Goa were, on becoming Christians, to be sold in order that the erstwhile owners might be compensated; similarly, slaves who escaped from Goa to Bijapur had also to be sold if they became Muslims and the money given to the previous owner.[57] Although the decree of 1555 received King John III's sanction, it was modified by Viceroy Bragança in 1558 so that now, if slaves bought by non-Christians in Portuguese territory became Christians, they had to be simply freed; only if they had been brought along from outside could the owners have them auctioned.[58] But a royal law of March, 1559, again introduced a modification to the effect that all slaves of foreign merchants and travellers were, on becoming Christians, to be sold to Christians instead of being merely auctioned. Government officials were required to see to it that the owners got a just price for them. If the owners' demands were excessive, competent persons were to be called upon to declare on oath what the just price was.[59] The Provincial Council of 1567 expressed itself in favour of applying the Canon Law of the time, which distinguished between slave-dealers and those who kept slaves for personal advantage. Hence, while ruling that slaves brought in by dealers be sold if they became Christians within three

months, the Council wanted all others to be freed outright.[60] The danger was certainly there of slaves becoming Christians only to gain their personal liberty, but we have no specific evidence in this matter.

Yet another law of March, 1559, laid down that native Christians should enjoy same rights as the Portuguese.[61] But as against this, they were now subject to new exactions, a fact that has generally escaped attention.[62] These exactions comprised tithes and fines.

The origin of tithes goes back at least to the first decades of the third century when, in connection with the obligation of contributing to the support of religious ministers, an appeal was made to the Old Testament law conferring on the priestly class the right to tithes. In the Middle Ages tithes were sometimes prescribed in support of a crusade. In Portugal the right to collect tithes passed to the Crown, when towards the end of the fifteenth century it acquired the office of Grand Master of the Order of Christ, a military Order that had originated early in the fourteenth century.[63] From the constitutions adopted by the archdiocese of Goa in 1568 we gather that tithes were levied on the produce of the field and on live stock, and that they were payable without deducting costs or other taxes. Though they did not always correspond to one-tenth of the produce, the charge on certain types of live stock was exactly one-tenth.[64]

Church fines could be imposed for neglecting rest and missing divine service on Sundays and holy days, for failing to send one's children and slaves to catechism, and for bearing native names regarded as un-Christian. Part of the fine went to the church and part to the warden. If anyone felt aggrieved he could have recourse to the Vicar.[65]

Since poor Christians avoided paying tithes, they were subjected to insults and ill-treatment. Church wardens, too, not seldom exacted fines even before people had been condemned to pay them. Here again it was Miguel Vaz who petitioned John III to remedy this, pointing out that it kept back people from the Church and that it was the received teaching of canonists that recent Christians should be exempted. John III did propose to inquire into the matter but nothing was immediately done, and it was only in 1570 that King Sebastian dis-

pensed recent Christians from paying tithes for a period of fifteen years.[66]

But this constituted only a partial relief; for church fines continued and were even given the force of state law in 1567. In his memorial of 1579-80 Valignano describes the effect of all this. "The third thing," he writes, "which hinders people [from becoming Christians] is that, once they are Christians, the prelates want to oblige them to pay tithes. Together with that, the resident curates, if there be any such in a place, as well as the visiting vicars condemn them to many pecuniary penalties, often leaving them in their sins while getting money out of them for their personal advantage. This repels the Christians, while the Gentiles make fun of them, saying that this is what they got by becoming Christians, as they now have to pay what formerly they did not. And since the people are poor and needy, this keeps them back from the Church in no slight measure." [67]

It was property and inheritance, however, that formed the most frequent theme of legislation.

Miguel Vaz remarked that the custom whereby the property of men dying without male heirs escheated to the Crown was a cause of "enormous inhumanities" to their widows and daughters. Accordingly, in 1542 he secured from Governor Martin Affonso de Sousa a provision that these women would get the movable property, only the immovable property going to the Crown. The preamble of the provision stated that the native custom was for these women "a cause of great hardships and an occasion for them to give themselves up to a bad life." But because women appeared to make too wide claims, the Governor in 1544 limited their share to 50 pardaos in addition to furniture, live stock, personal effects, and also the houses if they happened to be of palm leaves. Miguel Vaz drew John III's attention to this and suggested that Christian daughters be permitted to retain the entire property, for he hoped it might be "an occasion for some to become Christians." Should the King not deem it fit to grant this, Vaz requested that at least Governor de Sousa's provision be observed.[68]

Nevertheless, the situation of these women continued to be distressing and in 1548 the Father of Christians, Rui Barbudo, remonstrated with John III that the custom disabling women

was one "whereby souls are lost and bodies thrown far away." Like Miguel Vaz, he too suggested that they be allowed to retain the property, for he felt sure that "a great many of them will thereby come to us in a spirit of friendship and receive the water of holy baptism." Explaining how such property was, in keeping with local custom, auctioned to village elders, he said: "In the final result, Your Highness gets nothing out of these properties, for those which are worth something are given away to those who have large holdings, whereas those which measure little are distributed among native officials." [69]

Not till 1557 did there appear a provision of Governor Barreto which was sanctioned by the following royal law of 22 March, 1559: widows and daughters of heirless Hindus were to get as much as was necessary for their sustenance if they were willing to become Christians; if not, that privilege would go to the next of kin willing to do so; the rest of the property had either to be distributed as alms to other relations who might wish to become Christians or be applied to some other religious end; but before they were given their share the sincerity of the intending Christians had to be examined by the Rector of St. Paul's, the head of a monastery, or by the Administrator of the diocese; widows and daughters had to be given a reasonable period of time to deliberate; if they failed to come to a decision, the right would devolve on the next of kin. This law must have reached Goa in the beginning of September, 1559, together with the one on Hindu rites. It may therefore have brought about a modification in a decree whereby, a little earlier, Viceroy Bragança had, in place of Barreto's limited concession, granted Christian daughters an unrestricted right to the property of their Hindu parents in the absence of a male heir.[70] While one may criticise the motive of these laws, one has also to bear in mind that they disposed of what, according to native custom, had to be sold for the benefit of the Crown.

On 25 March, 1559, the Court sanctioned a yet wider law that had been issued by Barreto on 12 August, 1557. The preamble stated that Hindus and Muslims "by manifold vexations and inducements" hindered their children and relations from becoming Christians, or, if they were already Christians, denied them maintenance in order to make them return. The law characterised this as being "contrary to equity and natural

law" and then, with equal one-sidedness, ordained that non-Christians could not inherit anything from a Christian relation, whereas a Christian could inherit both from his non-Christian and Christian relations in accordance with Portuguese Law. The specific provisions were as follows: when the only child of a family became a Christian, it was immediately to get one-third of the family property and inherit the rest on the parents' death; if there were other children besides, the Christian was to be given the portion that was his or hers as the property then stood, the right to participate in a new division on the parents' death being conceded only if the Christian party was willing to reckon in what it had already received; the same rules were to apply if a Christian grand-child was due to inherit from its non-Christian grand-parents; and if it was feared that these would squander the property to the detriment of the Christian party, legal steps could be taken against them; when the only two children of a family became Christians, each of them was to receive immediately one-fourth of the property and inherit the rest on the parents' death; if there were other children besides, the Christian parties were to receive at once their legitimate portions, retaining their right to share in the division after their parents' death on the same condition as above; moreover, where both husband and wife were Christians, the wife was, in keeping with Portuguese law, to have equal interest in her husband's property.[71]

On 20 June, 1562, Viceroy Coutinho issued in the King's name a law the preamble of which stated that many non-Christian women wished to become Christians but feared to do so lest their husbands should throw them out leaving them penniless. It therefore prescribed that, should their husbands repudiate them, they were to be given their jewellery and clothes as well as half the movable property acquired after marriage.[72]

On 10 December, 1564, Viceroy Noronha at Archbishop Gaspar's instance modified an earlier decree whereby Viceroy Coutinho had applied to the Cathedral all Hindu property which escheated to the Crown owing to rebellion or failure of heirs. The Archbishop informed the Viceroy that inquiries about such property frequently gave rise to collusion and involved many hardships for poor people. A new decree now

one-sidedly permitted those who became Christians to retain up till 200 pardaos of such property, the remainder going to the Cathedral.[73]

Again, in 1567 at the request of the first Provincial Council the Viceroy provided as follows: the prescription of 1559 whereby a Christian wife acquired equal interest in her Christian husband's property had henceforth, unless the marriage contract provided otherwise, also to obtain between a non-Christian husband and his Christian wife if the marriage took place after the passage of this law; if it had taken place before that, a husband who forced a separation had to maintain his wife until she could marry again; if parents were unable to give their Christian children any inheritance, they had to maintain them until they were old enough to work for a living; and finally, monogamy was made obligatory for non-Christians.[74]

The first Provincial Council also affirmed the Christian teaching that the marriage-bond continues to subsist even after one of the parties becomes a Christian and that it can be dissolved only when certain conditions are verified. "Since the marriage of non-Christians," it said, "is not dissolved merely because one of the parties becomes a Christian and since the Christian party continues to be bound by its marriage obligations towards the non-Christian party, the Council, seeing that the non-Christian party often absconds thus making it impossible to know its mind and consequently to determine the condition of the Christian party, petitions His Highness to see to it that when one of the parties becomes a Christian, the other is taken into legal custody and placed for some days in the house of a virtuous person in order to know what it intends to do and whether the Christian party may marry another."[75] It is interesting to compare this decree with what Swaminath Natarajan has to say about the present state of Hindu law on this subject. "The inclusion of conversion to another faith," he writes, "among the causes for divorce which figure in the Hindu Marriage Act (1955) is understandable in so far as it is a religious sacrament; but it is rather strange that a secular State should not insist on further proof to establish that the conversion interferes with the religious life and practices of the other party."[76]

Again, the second Provincial Council petitioned for a law

forbidding Hindu widows to shave their heads and allowing them to marry again. However, nothing was done about it and the third Provincial Council renewed the petition, adducing as reason that such women found themselves in the position of domestic servants, a situation which the Council characterised as "a manifest injustice and an obstacle to their acceptance of Christianity." Once again the Crown failed to act, and the request was renewed by the fifth Provincial Council, which now added that the law should be extended to Christian widows as well, for the reason that renunciation of a second marriage, irrespective of whether they were psychologically prepared for it, could leave them in a difficult moral situation.[77]

The possibility of people becoming Christians in order to secure economic advantages has been discussed in the beginning of this chapter, and we have seen that there were abuses. But it is also well to remember that fear of economic and other losses may both keep back a person from following his conscience and move others to dissuade him from doing so. That was the explanation given by Provincial Quadros in 1561 as to why there was so much opposition. And his explanation was remarkably echoed by the *Reformer* in January 1925. Speaking of contemporary conditions it said: "The condition of the depressed classes of Hindu society has been attracting attention for several years past. The mass-conversions by Christian missionaries threatened to deprive Hindu landholders of the services of their predial serfs. When the Mahomedans started their demand for communal electorates, some of their leaders suggested that the untouchable classes were out of the pale of Hindu society, were not Hindus and should not, therefore, count in calculating proportions respectively of Hindu and Mahomedan representation in the Legislative Councils. These two causes gave an impetus to the movement for the redemption of the untouchables, which it lacked so long as it was confined to those who worked for it from considerations purely of social justice and humanity."[78]

The action of the evangelists of Goa in securing favourable legislation for women is generally regarded adversely because it aimed at promoting the cause of Christianity. Priolkar, for instance, includes most of these laws in his chapter, 'Anti-Hindu Laws in Goa'.[79] However, here too the evangelists

stood for ideals which India has now accepted. The Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act of 1856 legalised the remarriage of widows, the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 enjoined monogamy, and the Hindu Succession Act of 1956 enabled women to inherit in the same degree as men.[80] Regarding Goa in particular, the Goan Hindu, B. V. Sanvardekar, though no partisan of the christianisation of the land, wrote in 1930 that Hindu women there laboured under no disabilities, the first reason given for it being contact with Christian society.[81]

Some of the decrees, as we have seen, placed non-Christians in a disadvantageous position. Their authors complained of injustices towards Christians; but convinced as they were of the uniqueness of the Christian religion and lacking of political insight which the modern theory of the pluralist society affords us, they failed to see that they too were at times being unfair to non-Christians. However, the fundamental issue raised by this chapter is whether the showing of fellowship and kindness as a testimony of Jesus' teaching about the Good Samaritan can be regarded as a traffic in consciences.

CHAPTER VII

FREE ALLEGIANCE TO JESUS CHRIST

Provincial Quadros in 1561 told the Court that it was impossible to describe in detail the various ways in which people became Christians; "for," he said, "that differs from soul to soul." He then explained how the majority came through hearing Jesus' message proclaimed at the various centres of religious instruction; others, through no human intervention whatsoever; yet others, through the persuasion of their Christian relatives.[1] And, indeed, specially from 1557 onwards, the annual letters contain many such examples. Some of these people might have had socially little to lose, but for others it meant real sacrifice. These narratives, once again, bear out the existence of a movement towards Jesus Christ out of genuine religious conviction.

We saw towards the end of Chapter III that street preaching was commenced as early as 1548 and that by 1552 the children who attended St. Paul's sang snatches of Christian doctrine on the way to and from school. With the spread of the practice to villages, children could be heard proclaiming the Christian message in chant and song over a great part of the Dominican and Jesuit sectors.[2] The following episode illustrates this infant enthusiasm. In 1561 a Portuguese fidalgo was going up the river in haste on some business. And now to continue in the words of the original: "He saw on either bank some children who had been baptised but a few months before. They had brought their cattle out to graze, and now, seated in sight of one another, they formed two choirs and intoned the catechism. Those on one side said two words and those on the other responded in the same tone. The man was so captivated by this music that with tears in his eyes—for so I heard it told by the Father to whom he recounted it—he stood there a long while taking in its sweetness. Seeing the devotion with which they chanted, he praised God for thus glorifying himself in his creatures." At other times children playfully climbed trees and alternately sang their catechism in two groups; indeed, it was

soon a daily practice with them to sing it in the evening at Angelus.[3]

When the practice of regularly teaching children catechism was started in 1542, Xavier with keen insight said of it that "God our Lord is thereby served more than what many think," a remark which indicates that there were those who had not much appreciation for it. Xavier was supported by Juan Polanco, who in 1555 wrote to Miguel de Torres: "I think that in Goa it is already the practice to teach children reading and writing, and, together with that, the catechism. This should be continued because its effects will extend to many . . . indeed, it is the best thing that can be done in India."[4] How correct he was appears from the following description of 1557: "It often happens that when the children of Gentiles are sick, the parents themselves bring them to the church and placing them in the centre raise their hands to heaven, saying that they come to offer them to St. Paul in order that he may cure them. For the same reason, they occasionally bring oil for the lamps and also candles: these they offer at the altar. Indeed, because of their frequent contact with the Portuguese as also because they so often hear the children of St. Paul's chanting the catechism along the way, some of the Gentiles even know the prayers and say them when asked."[5] Yet another illustration of this is the way in which, in 1560, a large group of village elders was seen chanting the catechism as it made its way towards St. Paul's to ask for baptism.[6]

The most outstanding early instance of such influence is a Muslim maiden, the daughter of a rival claimant to the throne of Bijapur. He is called Meale by the Portuguese historians and was invited to Goa by Governor Martin Affonso de Sousa.[7] A Jesuit letter of 1557 describes him as a man "of advanced age, prudent and experienced in affairs, and, in the opinion of Muslims, a faithful observer of Mohamed and well versed in their sacred books and the Koran."[8]

In 1556 he was residing next to Diego Pereira in the vicinity of St. Paul's. His daughter relieved the monotony of the retirement then customary among Muslim women by listening to the children as they sang the catechism on their way to and from school. Besides, she came under the influence of Diego Pereira's wife, Maria Toscana, and the two used to converse

with each other through the window. On one occasion her father even allowed her to go over to Maria Toscana's place when Diego Pereira was away. When this had gone on for about a year, Maria Toscana's persuasions began making an impression on the girl. She was attracted, too, by the procession on Easter Day, 18 April, 1557, and by the first solemn baptism on June 29, when the catechumens came forth from Diego Pereira's house. She even asked her father to show her the cathedral, saying she wished to have an idea of Christian art, and he promised to do so.

Just as she made up her mind and was beginning to experience anxiety because there appeared no hope of ever getting her parents' consent, Maria Toscana visited her and the father allowed the two to talk apart. The visitor found that her persuasions were no more needed and that the problem now was how to get her out. She and her husband thereupon consulted the Jesuits and it was agreed that Maria Toscana should ask Meale to allow his daughter to come over to her house. Meale, however, excused himself, saying that he had permitted it the previous time because there were only women folk at home, that it was not so now, and his daughter would not like to be seen by men as it was contrary to their custom. In the meantime, the girl through a faithful attendant repeatedly sent messages to Maria Toscana telling her that for the love of God she was willing to leave her home and beseeching her to get her out. Eventually, she was told to send a precious jewel as a sign that she wished to become a Christian. The girl on her part did not wish to find herself alone among men folk and requested that some women too should come along to fetch her. The jewel was then shown to Governor Barreto, who promised all help.

On August 10, the Governor with his bodyguard and a party of fidalgos rode up to Meale's gate, while at the same instant Maria Toscana and a couple of other women emerged from their palanquins. While the Governor informed the surprised father why he had come and showed him his daughter's pledge, the women went upstairs in search of her. The girl, who was but waiting for them, came down to meet them half way and clung to Maria Toscana. Thinking it best to wait for the Governor to settle matters they all went upstairs and waited in the reception room. The girl's mother, perturbed by all this,

drew her away and sat there holding her closely. Just then a male servant rushed in and broke the news that they had come to take away the girl in order to make her a Christian. Beside themselves, the mother and other women of the household sought to precipitate her through a trap-door. The senhoras rushed forward and there ensued a fight in the course of which a woman of the house caught one of them by the throat. Thereupon the girl, who, all this while had to bear the painful reproaches of her mother and relatives, reprehended her so severely that she instantly desisted. The noise brought the Governor on the scene just in time to save the girl from being thrown down. As she was being led away, some of her female relatives who loved her dearly clutched at the Governor's cloak and, as she herself afterwards explained, besought him to take them along too. But as nobody understood what they were saying, it appeared as though they were just seeking to prevent the girl's departure and no heed was paid to them.

At Diego Pereira's house she declared in the presence of the Governor, the Chief Justice, Francisco Rodrigues, and other witnesses that it was her own free wish to become a Christian, and a formal document to that effect was drawn up. Although she could read and write, with the characteristic reserve of Indian women in bygone days she requested that someone else might sign for her. In a last effort to make her desist, her family for a few days bewailed her so loudly that they could be heard all over the neighbourhood. But the maiden maintained her calm and was baptised on August 15, amid scenes similar to those which had accompanied the baptism of Loku Sinai nine years earlier.[9]

Her parents' natural love soon asserted itself and they asked to see her. Governor Barreto personally accompanied her and Maria Toscana to her old home and came to fetch her again in the evening. She was married to Maria Toscana's brother and lived as an exemplary Christian till she died in her first childbirth.[10]

Another instance is that of a family which became Christian some time between July and August, 1560. The head of the family then related how some time before that, his small sons used to play at baptism in the company of other Hindu boys. One boy imagined himself to be Pedro d'Almeida, others took

the part of catechumens, while another acted as the baptising priest. By December, 1560, many of these children had become Christians.[11] There was also the young man with whom a Jesuit had a prolonged conversation, finally convincing him to become a Christian. Asked to write down in Portuguese what he knew of the catechism, he drew a cross and of his own accord wrote the name 'Jesus', which, according to St. Paul, no one can prayerfully invoke except under divine influence. Another time, an aged and respected Hindu took seriously ill soon after his baptism. He told the Jesuit who brought him some medicine that God had been good to him in letting him live long enough to become a Christian and that he could now take him away when he pleased. He died soon afterwards.[12]

Such acceptance of Jesus' message at the approach of death is quite in keeping with what we saw in the previous chapter at the time of the explosion in 1562. Here are a few more examples. There was in Chorao a man who feared to be harassed and possibly even imprisoned for debt, and in desperation cut his throat. As he was gasping out his life he sent for the Jesuit Brother, saying he wanted to die a Christian; his parting wish was that his wife and children, too, should receive baptism. Another time, on the same island a Jesuit student came upon an aged man whose life was fast ebbing away. Asked whether he wished to become a Christian, he replied in the affirmative. He was taught to invoke the name of Jesus and baptised. On another occasion, a Jesuit was summoned to baptise a dying Muslim woman. When he arrived she was already at her last gasp and unable to say whether she wanted to become a Christian. But as the bystanders assured him that she had only a short while before asked for baptism he conferred the sacrament. There was too in Divar a man who had, rather than become a Christian, preferred to go over with his family to the Bijapur side. After a few years he happened to fall dangerously ill and, feeling the approach of death, asked his family to take him back to his homeland, saying he wanted to die a Christian. He died two days after his baptism, and in his last moments prayed the priest "to bury him in a goodly place among Christians." The annual letters of 1560 and 1567 affrm that such occurrences were not rare. Hence the fifth Provincial Council, after saying that many waited till the last

moment to become Christians, petitioned for a law forbidding the sick to be carried out of the Islands if they lacked the strength to go by themselves.[13] This action, though, is open to the criticism that it might have prevented the kith and kin from discharging an obligation of conscience as long as the patient had not made up his mind.

Attendance at or the sight of religious services, or a visit to a church, also served as the immediate occasion.

The Jesuits, Antonio Criminale and Nicolao Lancillotto, found on their arrival in 1545 that non-Christians were freely admitted to divine service. Criminale's objection that it was contrary to ecclesiastical discipline was met with the reply that it was an occasion for many to become Christians. Then, we have the example of a prominent resident of Morobim, whether Greater or Lesser we are not told, who one day entered the church of Carambolim and asked the priest André Vaz to explain to him the picture of Adam and Eve. He was thereupon told about the Christian teaching on creation. He next turned his attention to a painting of Christ's baptism, and listened seriously as the meaning of Baptism was explained to him. He returned a few days later saying he had reflected on what he had heard and wanted to be admitted as a Christian. Next, there was the woman who, seeing the Christian women of her village prepare for a Confirmation ceremony, borrowed a veil, removed her nose-ring, and suggested to her husband that they too should go along. The confirming prelate, Jorge de Santa Luzia, who was then temporarily at the head of the Archdiocese, was enchanted with their simplicity and arrangements seem to have been made for their instruction. We read also of the son of a merchant, who in 1560 stopped to see the new church of St. Paul's coming up. He asked a Christian boy what it was for, and on being told that it was for initiating people into Christian life forthwith expressed his wish to remain there. On yet another occasion, a goldsmith who was witnessing a baptismal ceremony went up to one of the ministering priests and expressed his desire to be baptised. He was sent to the catechumenate to be instructed. There was also the influential resident of Batim who for some time seemed not to heed the persuasions of the Jesuit student who went there to teach catechism. One day the student requested him to enter the church, and there, aided

by the priest of the place, renewed his persuasions. The man turned towards a picture of the Mother of Jesus, to whom the church was dedicated, and expressed his resolve to become a Christian "for the love of her and her Son Jesus Christ". He promised, also, always to serve her church devotedly.[14]

We have too an anecdote showing the occasional effect of providing Christian burial for the poor, that being one of the aims which the short-lived Confraternity of Holy Faith had set itself.[15] The incident occurred in Salsette. There happened to die a Christian woman, one of whose sons was still a Hindu. Our narrative now continues: "As the Christians carried her to the church for burial, this Hindu son too went along to see the manner of our burial and witnessed the entire ceremony. At the end of it he was so lost in admiration that he burst into praise and extolled our Law, saying that it alone was true, seeing that it treated a poor woman's body with as much care as that of any Portuguese." He left the place as though turned into a Christian apostle.[16]

By 1567 it was generally recognised that Christian churches and worship and the exemplary lives of pastors served by themselves to proclaim the message of Jesus. Hence, the following decree of the first Provincial Council: "Experience shows us that an excellent way of bringing the Christian message to non-Christians is to build churches in their midst and station there priests of good and exemplary lives. Wherefore, the Council directs prelates to do their best to erect churches amidst the non-Christian subjects of His Highness and to place there persons eager to share the Christian message with others."[17]

In the light of this it will be of interest to see the rise of the early churches in the Islands.

Affonso d'Albuquerque himself was the author of the church of Santa Catarina which began to be called the Sé or Cathedral even before Goa became a bishopric. He was also the author of Nossa Senhora de Monte (Our Lady of the Mount) on the eastern outskirts of the city, Nossa Senhora da Serra (O. L. of the Mountain Ridge) not far from Santa Catarina, and Nossa Senhora da Piedade (O. L. of Compassion) in Divar.[18] By 1541 there existed six churches with priests deputed to serve them, and several chapels without priests. The former comprised, besides Piedade, Nossa Senhora da Luz (O. L. of Light) at the

south-western extremity of the city, Santiago (St. James) at the Banastarim ford, Nossa Senhora da Conceiçao (O. L. of the Immaculate Conception) at Panjim, Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe at Batim, and Sao Joao (St. John the Baptist) at Carambolim. Those without priests were: Madre de Deus (Mother of God) at Daugim, Santa Luzia in the vicinity of Daugim, Sao Lourenço at Aghashim, and Nossa Senhora do Cabo (O. L. of the Cape) at the western extremity of Tisvadi. Sao Braz (St. Blaise) at Gandaulim was commenced just in 1541; the Portuguese called the place Passo Seco or 'dry ford'. Shortly afterwards we find Nossa Senhora da Ajuda (O. L. of Help) at Ribandar, the church of the Misericordia just to the south of the cathedral, Sao Lazaro by the hospital for infectious diseases in the south-eastern sector of the city, Nossa Senhora do Rozario (O. L. of the Rosary) on an eminence in the north-western sector, and Santo Antonio just at the foot of it.[19] Between 1549 and 1551 rose the church of Nossa Senhora da Graça (O. L. of Grace) in Chorao. After 1554 the Dominicans raised the following churches in western Tisvadi: Santa Barbara at Greater Morobim, Santa Cruz (Holy Cross) at Calapor, Sao Miguel (St. Michael) at Taleganv, and Santa Maria Magdalena at Sirdanv. The year 1560 saw the commencement of Sao Tomé on the eastern outskirts of the city. By 1565 we have another Santa Luzia at Panelim and Sao Joao Evangelista at Greater Neura. Already in 1541, though, the Confraternity of Holy Faith had in view a chapel for this last place.[20]

Belief in omens and soothsaying also became, curiously enough, an occasion for accepting Christianity. We have already seen this with regard to the old man who in his youth took Nossa Senhora de Monte for an omen; we have also seen it on a fairly large scale with regard to Carambolim. Here are two more examples.

The first is that of an elderly man who in 1559 promised André Vaz of Carambolim to get himself and his wife baptised at the very next baptism to be held at St. Paul's. As the day approached, however, he quietly left for the mainland and asked a *joshi* or soothsayer to perform for him augury by flower, a method which is thus explained in our source: "The *joshi* takes a stem with two petals of a flower attached to it and places them round the shoulders of the image so as to hang

down in front on each side. If as the stem dries the one on the left falls first, they hold it to be an unpropitious augury and desist from their purpose." In this instance the left petal fell first. Dissatisfied with the result, the man had recourse to a more solemn method of divination, described as consisting "in placing the same petals so as to hang down on either side of the head of the image." Again, the left one fell first. The man thereupon had recourse to his wife, who told him that it would be better to seek a sign at another and a more revered temple. But on his way thither a cobra with a raised hood crossed his path, an occurrence characterised as "the supreme augury, on seeing which they immediately desist from their purpose, believing that God is not served thereby." Husband and wife now returned in haste and informed André Vaz that they had received an augury to become Christians. They were baptised at St. Paul's after instruction which included making it clear to them that their original motive had no rational foundation.[21]

The second example is that of the head of the painter's guild, who was baptised on Pentecost Day, 1559. There is some likelihood that he was the same as the one of whom Miguel Vaz had in his memorandum fourteen years earlier told John III as follows: "Among these [painters] there was one who was *mukadam* of the others; that is, one who stands at their head and supervises their work. He was a very able painter; in fact, the best of them all. And because he had given his word to come out with me to Portugal in order to meet the best painters here and perfect his art and to become a Christian, he used to be called upon to paint scenes in churches and Portuguese homes. He painted many scenes in Goa and thereby earned a good livelihood. But as my departure was delayed, the devil got his opportunity; for on coming to know of it, the man's relatives made him lose his nerve and pressed him to leave Goa. And he finally left so as to avoid coming with me."[22] Our information about the one who was baptised in 1559 agrees remarkably with Miguel Vaz's description. He was, we learn, "a man to whom all the previous governors and viceroys had made handsome offers if he would become a Christian, for the reason that he is the natural leader of the others and has filled all possible churches in India with paintings in his own hand." And these paintings were, we further learn, inspired by genuine

religious sentiment. As described in our sources, the offers appear to be a material bargain and show that not all Christians acted from a proper understanding of conversion.

He had been for some years now a neighbour of the Jesuits and they had often commissioned him to paint something or other for them. They frequently exchanged views with him, but though he impressed them with his friendliness and good judgment, their arguments long seemed insufficient for him to make up his mind. In February, 1559, he fell ill and calling to his bedside a Jesuit with whom he had been specially friendly recounted to him some dreams he had had. The priest understood that he was disposed to become a Christian and persuaded him to make up his mind. His lead was followed by the members of his guild, so that by November that year many of them were already Christians.[23]

This was also true to a lesser extent of the goldsmiths; for many of them had already become Christians in the course of 1558. Not till 27 August, 1559, was their headman baptised, and his example was soon followed by some of the remaining goldsmiths.[24]

These two examples, by the way, show us Hindus continuing as headmen of guilds despite Governor Barreto's decree of 1557 to the contrary, which would mean that it was none too rigorously enforced.

Daugim is yet another example of people becoming Christians under the lead of a person of influence. Here the movement towards Christianity found expression at least as early as 1540 when most of the villagers became Christians and asked for a church of the Mother of Jesus on the site of a former temple; thus had originated the church of Madre de Deus. But there still remained several Hindu families. Now it happened that the *thanadar* of the place knew well Konkani and was regarded by the people as "their friend and father," that being the reason why the Jesuits took him along when they called on the people of Divar on 30 July 1560. Eleven days earlier, this sympathy between him and the people had manifested itself in the following way. The Jesuit student who taught catechism at Daugim requested him to try and convince the remaining Hindu families. So he invited the men to a meal in his own house, while his mother gathered the women in another. He

then addressed them persuasively in Konkani and they all willingly became Christians, Daugim being thus the first village to become almost entirely Christian. Another example of the kind is the young man who, on returning home after his baptism, within eight days convinced fifty others to follow his example and within another three days, thirty more.[25]

Friendly feelings also played their part. Thus in 1564 some Hindu friends, seeing how keen a Portuguese was to gain the Jubilee, brought him one of their religious ministers whom they even helped to say the catechism. The Portuguese then gladly accompanied the man to St. Paul's. Two years later we have the following example from Batim. A Jesuit became friendly with a prominent resident of the place and visited him frequently in the hope of convincing him. They became so familiar that the Jesuit even began calling the man by name. One day, at the end of a period of particularly frequent visits, the Jesuit while passing by his house at nightfall inquired about him. The man came out saying, "Here I am, Father; do you want anything?" On being told that he should become a Christian, he replied: "Father, I do wish to become a Christian for the love of God." And he did so with twelve members of his family.[26]

And that brings us to the influence of kith and kin. This is already observable in 1554 when a man entered the Jesuit church one day during sermon and told the preacher in a loud voice that he wanted to become a Christian. He was instructed at the catechumenate and baptised. On returning home he soon convinced others to follow his example, and though his wife at first held back, she too finally agreed. This was but in keeping with the early movement towards Christianity; for the narrative ends with the words: "We hope in the Lord that very soon all the Gentiles—I speak of Goa—or the majority of them will become Christians."[27]

Another time, a young Hindu who impressed the Jesuits by his refined manners presented himself at St. Paul's. When asked why he had come, he explained that his mother, who herself did not want to become a Christian, had often asked him to go and get himself baptised and that he had come to fulfil her wish. There was also the money-changer whom the arguments of Viceroy Bragança long failed to persuade, but who finally

asked for baptism. Before three months had passed, hearing that his father was seriously ill on the mainland he went and brought him over, saying he wished to nurse him. A Jesuit was then called in but the old man refused to hear of becoming a Christian. His son and a Christian daughter thereupon entreated him with all possible affection, but to no purpose. At length, the man told the priest that he wished to sleep a little over it. On returning the following day the priest found the man so changed that he now manifested his new desire by pointing heavenwards and saying, "Nothing on earth makes me become a Christian but solely the love of Jesus Christ who is in heaven." His wife and the rest of the family followed him.[28]

Then there was the woman who was suffering from a malady of the eyes and even affirmed that she could see nothing. Christian relatives assured her that if with a sincere heart she got herself baptised and persuaded her family to do the same, she would be cured. She took the advice and, in fact, appeared to improve. In gratitude she spoke so earnestly to her sons and daughters that they all with their children became Christians. We also learn how a Jesuit student's persuasions once seemingly failed to convince the head of a large household. The man's Christian father thereupon threw himself down and kissed his feet, beseeching him not to repudiate God's message. As the man moved away, the aged father asked him to recall that he had given him life. Eventually he let himself be persuaded and was baptised with his entire family. There was also the mason who continued to work for St. Paul's apparently uninfluenced by the occasional religious conversations of his employers. In 1565 he fell ill and sent for a Jesuit, saying he wished to be baptised. His wife, yielding to his entreaties and those of the priest, followed his example.[29]

Prayerful recourse to Jesus and his Mother, too, paved the way for the final act of allegiance.

There was, for instance, the man of Divar whose son fell so ill that his life was despaired of. Seeing that doctors were of no avail, the father took the child to Nossa Senhora da Piedade and implored the Mother of Jesus to have pity on him. The boy recovered and the grateful father brought him to St. Paul's, saying that since he belonged to the Mother of Jesus, he should

be brought up as a Christian. Shortly afterwards, the entire family became Christian. Under this category may be mentioned also the old man of Divar who was included in the movement of 30 July 1560. On becoming a Christian he asked it as a favour that he should be put in charge of Nossa Senhora da Piedade, saying that "already as a Hindu he had for the last thirty or forty years served that church of Our Lady by helping to adorn, decorate, and clean it when her feasts came round." Or the following example. A Portuguese saw a young man getting drowned in a tank and called out to him to invoke the name of Jesus, while he himself jumped in and swam to the rescue. Such was the impression made on the young man that he thenceforth constantly invoked the name and, in course of time, asked to be received as a Christian. Another time, an eight-year-old Muslim boy had a stroke of paralysis which brought him to death's door. The mother in her anguish asked her Christian relatives to get him baptised in time. They brought him to Pedro Afonso, who, seeing him almost at his last gasp, had him immediately baptised. An improvement was at once visible and after remedies had been applied the child was given back to his aunts. He soon recovered completely the use of his limbs and this so impressed his parents that they expressed their wish to become Christians. And lastly, there was the old woman who at the approach of death had a priest brought in to baptise her. On being asked who had suggested this to her, she answered that she had always, in time of good health and bad, invoked Jesus and His Mother, and that she now felt their promptings in her heart so insistently that she could brook no further delay: and this narrative, which comes from the year 1564, concludes with the words "We daily have many such examples, which manifestly show how God has care of his chosen ones." [30]

Nor was the movement just confined to the Islands. We already had a glimpse of this towards the end of Chapter III in the person of the well-to-do man who after a long search decided that his soul could find rest in Jesus Christ alone.

Here are a few more examples. Two sannyasis in the course of their wanderings reached the port of Bhatkal in Canara and there felt attracted by the message of Jesus. A Portuguese

woman brought them along to Goa and directed them to St. Paul's where, though not made to wait as long as the *sannyasi* of Anjidiv, they were put through a fairly long course of instruction before being baptised. Another time, some people on the Bijapur side wished to become Christians but feared the reaction of their relatives should they come to know of it. A young man, who himself had at the time no intention of becoming a Christian, brought the news to St. Paul's and it was arranged to protect them in the act of crossing over. Very soon he came leading nine persons, and took his leave saying he was ready to do the same service for anyone else. But one day, he too presented himself with two companions and asked to be admitted to baptism. Then there was the man who, badly wounded, all alone and without a boat, forded the narrow creek and came to St. Paul's saying he knew very well that he was not going to survive and had come to die and be buried as a Christian. He passed away shortly after his baptism.[31]

And now we come to one, of whose state of mind before and after accepting the message of Jesus we have the best record, and that too almost in his own words. It is the young leader of the small group which in 1559 by stretching legality to doubtful limits raided the Hindu scholar's library. He is described as "one of the most learned in his Law" and "naturally very gifted." He talked often with Melchior Carneiro and other Jesuits and seemed to be on the point of becoming a Christian, when, just as his parents and brothers were preparing for baptism, he suddenly went across to Salsette. A few days after the baptism of his relations, however, he appeared unexpectedly at St. Paul's. Here he spent some time in trying to understand the place of Jesus Christ in God's plan for mankind. Refusing all outward show, he declined to have Viceroy Bragança as his godfather and preferred to be baptised privately in the novices' chapel rather than in the church; he was henceforth known as Manuel d'Oliveira.

Scarcely four months later, he presented himself on a Sunday afternoon before those who were gathered in the Jesuit church in accordance with Viceroy Bragança's edict obliging them to attend religious discussions. After settling a point in dispute he addressed to them an apology at which the Jesuits themselves

were surprised. Speaking in Portuguese he said : " My Brahmin masters, relatives, and friends. Your Excellencies know that I am a Brahmin by birth, and the most prominent of those of you here are my kinsmen. You know, then, that I was always very much attached to our Law and laboured in its cause more than many of you, and for the same reason my father spent much on me. I have, as you well know, travelled more than any of you, ever in search of someone who could teach me perfectly the Law of the Shastras and paying him well for it; I visited temples and bathing places which are held in great esteem and called holy; and thus, though younger than many of you I have a much better knowledge of the Law, as you are all aware."

Then, as will presently be seen, in words comparable to those of Cyprian of Carthage and Li Paul of Peking he went on : " And now I must confess to you that as long as I lived in this Law I was never happy, but went about as one blind; for my soul could not find rest because of the problems the Law leaves unsolved, because of the difficulties in which it is involved, and because of the uncertainty in which I went about. And that led me from sin to sin, permitted as it was by the Law. It was a state similar to that in which you now find yourselves; for you are well aware that not everything is alright, though at the same time there seems to you nothing wrong anywhere. But after the Lord had deigned to enlighten me and bring me to the knowledge of the truth by which I now live, ever since my baptism, I have always been happy and my soul experiences great joy in the knowledge and truth of Christ's Law, which alone is true. . . ." [32]

It is unlikely that such a speech could have been made if, as Portuguese critics were just then insisting, those who became Christians felt they were acting under constraint. It is, moreover, instructive to see how Cyprian and Li Paul, two men who differed widely in respect of time and place but had in common the fact that they both came to know Jesus Christ in adult manhood, described their experience in a manner akin to that of Manuel d'Oliveira.

Cyprian was probably born at Carthage between A.D. 200 and 210. He became a Christian in 246, was elected bishop of

Carthage in 248 or 249, and died a martyr in 258. Shortly after his baptism he composed a small apology in which he thus depicted his previous experience: "I was plunged in darkness and impenetrable night, I was tossed about aimlessly on the stormy sea of the world, a prey to anxiety and doubt, not knowing why I lived, a stranger to light and truth. Such as I then was, I regarded the promise of divine condescension and life as wellnigh impossible and incapable of fulfilment: namely, that a man could be re-born; that, receiving new life from the saving waters of baptism, he could shed his former self and, while continuing this bodily existence, be changed in mind and soul into another man. How, I used to ask, is such a transformation possible? How is it possible to shed completely and all of a sudden either the temperament that has become for one a fixed mould, or an acquired habit that has long since become a second nature with the advance of years? . . . So I kept on saying to myself. For I myself was held in thrall by the numerous errors of my former life, and I did not think it possible to free myself from them: I was such a slave to my evil inclinations that, despairing of better things, I let them have their way as though that was the natural and proper thing to do. But once the stain of my former years had been washed away by the life-giving waters and heavenly light had poured into my now purified and ennobled bosom, once heavenly life had been infused into and the second birth had made a new man of me, lo and behold! doubts were forthwith dispelled, access lay open to what had been barred, dark recesses were lighted up, one experienced strength in place of one's former weakness, what before seemed impossible was now within reach. It thereby became evident that my former existence, originating as it did in natural birth and subject as it was to sin, was but of the earth; the new existence, receiving as it did life from the Holy Spirit, was of God."[33]

Li Paul was a Chinese warrior, baptised on 21 September 1602, barely two years after the Jesuits under Matteo Ricci had established themselves at Peking. In keeping with the custom prevalent among educated catechumens, he read out the following declaration on the occasion: "I, the disciple Li Paul, with all my soul and with firm sincerity, desire to accept the law of

Christ, wherefore, in all humility, I lift up my soul to heaven, begging God to harken to my pleading. Born in the Court City of Pekin, I confess that in all my past years I had never heard tell of the divine law of Christianity, nor ever encountered the good holy men who preach it. Hence it was that I wandered in error, in everything I did and said, by day and by night, like one who was blind and demented. . . . From the time of my birth up to this my forty-third year, I lived in ignorance of this law, hence I was unable to avoid falling into many faults and errors, and so I ask the Heavenly Father to be generous toward me and in His love and mercy to efface and to pardon all the guilt I incurred. . . . One thing only I ask of you, O Father most holy, and merciful Creator of all things. . . . I ask you to enlighten and open my intellect for a fuller comprehension of those things to which human wisdom cannot attain. . . . In the meantime, gifted with this Holy Faith, grant me the power to spread it, as do your servants, throughout the universe, together with their faculty of inducing all men to embrace it. . . ." [34]

In conclusion, it may be observed that most of the examples related here are from the decade 1557-67. Whereas a mere reading of the laws might lead one to infer that non-Christians lived in constant fear, this chapter shows us Hindus and Muslims living on friendly terms with Christians, which was precisely the inference suggested by the increase in revenue during this period, as appeared from our examination of Nunez's criticism in Chapter IV. This chapter also enables us to judge the accuracy of Melchior Nunes Barreto's explanation that since miracles and examples of holiness were lacking, the only way was that of punishment and favour. The problem of coercion concerns only a section of those who became Christians. In the light of our new understanding of political rights and religious liberty it must be said that there were clear instances of injustice. But we have also seen that many were already inclined towards Christianity, and hence they did not feel that they were accepting baptism under compulsion. We have also seen that the sincerity of catechumens was not always sufficiently tested, and some actually underwent the ceremony of baptism for the sake of material gain; but there is also enough evidence of the genuineness of the general movement towards

Christianity. Hence what Quadros said of the spread of Jesus' message and what the first Provincial Council said of churches and exemplary priests was a far truer explanation of how the people as a whole became Christians. We can also now estimate the accuracy of the native tradition that "one brother of an extensive joint family would stay behind to be converted with his wife and children, for the sake of the land, while the rest fled." [35] For we see that some did leave, but we also see some of them returning in circumstances which leave no doubt as to their religious sincerity.

CHAPTER VIII

CHRISTIAN LIFE OF THE FIRST GENERATION

SINCE a people's Christian life consists in its knowledge and practice of the Faith, this chapter will first concern itself with the instruction of catechumens and neophytes.

Religious instruction was a subject of concern from the beginning; for contemporary with Afonso d'Albuquerque's policy of promoting interracial marriages was a provision obliging every settler within a specified time to teach his wife and slave-woman the *Our Father* and *Hail Mary*. One who failed to do so or to secure them the ministrations of a priest in time of dangerous illness was liable to be fined.[1] For all that, the state of religious instruction did not satisfy everyone, as appears from a Dominican's request to King John III in 1530 to provide Goa and other places with exemplary priests and to have the Christians properly instructed. "For though the vicars are in charge of it," he complained, "for every single day they teach, a hundred go by in complete neglect. Hence, many unmarried women go back to their worship and their former Gentile friends because they are neither punished for it nor instructed."[2]

Therefore Miguel Vaz took the matter in hand soon after he took charge in 1532, and in 1541 the Confraternity of Holy Faith too devoted attention to this point, so that when the village elders agreed to make over 2,000 *tangas brancas* out of the former temple revenues, about three-fifths of it was originally marked out for the upkeep of churches and priests. One of the duties enjoined on these priests was that of teaching "the people of the land the *Our Father* and the *I Believe* and the *Hail Holy Queen* and some other good prayers, as also the Commandments and the rest, which good Christians must know."[3] Incidentally, it is interesting to observe that the reason given for taking good care of churches was that "it would make our holy Faith an object of very great derision, and

it would be a shame for us if the Gentiles saw that, after demolishing their temples, we cared little for our own churches." [4]

Xavier too on his arrival taught children and native Christians the main tenets, using the corrupt Portuguese current among them. Bishop Albuquerque took up the idea and, on orders from him, children began to be similarly instructed at all the churches. Our earliest evidence for the use of Konkani comes from the year 1544, when Diego Borba started going to Banastarim on Sundays, taking along a boy of St. Paul's to instruct the people in their own language. The following year we find the same being done in another village. The instruction must have been given through a Konkani catechism which originated at this time; for a Jesuit letter of 1545 tells us that there were then at St. Paul's boys from nine different regions and that some of them had helped to draw up a catechism in their respective languages.[5]

Not much attention, however, seems to have been paid in the early days to preparatory instruction. Both Antonio Criminale and Nicolao Lancillotto were on their arrival in 1545 surprised to find people being baptised at their asking, without proper knowledge of the Creed or the basic prayers. All that they got was a summary instruction then and there through an interpreter, and some explanation of the ceremonies during baptism itself. Though this would suffice for the validity of the sacrament, there could not be much hope of a true Christian life. "All they can say," writes Criminale, "is that they are Christians. And when asked what they believe, they either reply that they believe what the Christians believe or that they do not know; they have not the least idea of the *Our Father*, the *Hail Mary*, the *I Believe*, etc. Nor will they ever learn." [6] Hence, when Pedro Fernandes Sardinha, Miguel Vaz's successor, went back to Portugal in 1549, he made the following suggestion to John III: "In order that this holy work of christianising may have more permanent results, before the adults are given baptism, they should be instructed in accordance with divine and ecclesiastical law for a few days in the Faith and its mysteries. And to do this properly, it would be advisable to have next to the colleges in Goa, Cranganore, and Bassein houses destined for the instruction of catechumens." [7]

It was in these circumstances that catechumenates were

opened in Goa by the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits. Since the administration of the Jesuit catechumenate has already been dealt with in Chapter VI, we need only concern ourselves here with outlining the method of instruction. We get some idea of the labour involved when we learn that in the years 1557-58 there were catechised here 3,050 men and women drawn from the various eastern peoples who frequented Goa. Teixeira, who was in charge of the men during these two years, has left us a fairly complete description of how they were put through the two or three months' course. On being admitted, the catechumens were clearly told that they had to accept the Christian message whole-heartedly. The basic text to be learnt by heart was in Portuguese, the one who saw to this being Antonio, the Chinese who had witnessed Xavier's dying moments. He first taught them all together, assigned to each the part to be learnt by heart, and later had them come individually to repeat it to him. Once a day Teixeira went down to explain the text, and interpreters, sometimes as many as four, transmitted his thought to their respective groups. The vernacular versions prepared by the boys of St. Paul's were probably availed of to make people understand the Portuguese text. At other times the catechumens were arranged in a row in such a way that those who had a common language found themselves side by side; the catechist explained the matter to the first man, and the explanation then went round from one to the other. Interest in the Portuguese text was stimulated by allotting higher places and offering rosaries to the more proficient.

Regarding the method, the Christian mysteries were summarily declared; for an elaborate explanation would only have confused most of them. However, those who wished to know more were given the opportunity to ask questions. Comparisons and biblical stories were freely used, the reason given for it being that "these two very much appeal to the people." A day or so before baptism, the nature of the sacrament was explained and they were taken through each point of the catechism and asked whether they believed and promised to abide by it all.

We have, too, an interesting example of how a dumb Muslim boy was taught by signs. When the moment arrived to test whether he could be baptised, he signified his belief in God the Creator by pointing to heaven and earth, and his belief in the

Crucified by showing his hands and pointing to his feet and side.[8]

We have no comparable description about women catechumens, but we are told in a general way that their instruction proceeded on parallel lines. In 1563 we find the Ethiopian widow, Catarina de Farao, in charge of them, and she was still there in 1567. The result of her direction is described as follows: "Owing to the admirable diligence of this woman, the women who come here to be taught are so well trained by the time they pass out that when some of them are later taken into Portuguese households, it is they who urge and exhort the other women to pray and tell their beads and commend themselves to our Lord. And some of them are so well instructed and serious about things pertaining to their salvation that it affords matter for praising God; for some of them can be permitted to go frequently to the sacraments as though they were Christians of very long standing."[9]

In 1560, at the height of the movement towards Christianity, Provincial Quadros began sending Jesuit students out to the villages on Sundays and holydays. During divine service they commented on the Gospel of the day and a point of Faith. After service they taught children catechism in the church. In the afternoon they went to localities far removed from the church, there again to teach children in palm-leaf sheds set up for the purpose. The more diligent children were put in charge of bringing the others along, not sparing the rod if necessary. Together with the children came of their own accord aged women as well as young mothers carrying their babies and leading their tots by the hand; and they took real pleasure in being taught by a younger child of the family. Boys of St. Paul's acted as interpreters specially at the doctrinal exposition during divine service, and this need for interpreters continued throughout our period. To meet this difficulty at least partially, about sixty Brahmin boys were in 1560 admitted in St. Paul's in order to be trained as catechists.[10]

As neither heat nor rain was allowed to interfere with these expeditions, it was quite common for the students to come back home drenched, and at times to be drenched even before they reached their villages. This assiduity, while encouraging the Christians, did not escape the attention of non-Christians, who

were thus all the more disposed to establish friendly contact with these young messengers of the Gospel. As the annual letter of 1560 says: "And since at the time this practice was begun most of the Christians still had Hindu relatives, neighbours, and friends, Our Lord disposed that many should accept his message through the influence of these very Christians, and, at other times, through the persuasions of, and friendly contact with, the Jesuit students." [11]

In the meantime, King John III had in 1556 donated a press to the Jesuits bound for Ethiopia under the leadership of Joao Nunes Barreto. We saw in the beginning of Chapter IV how several members of this expedition were detained in Goa, and, with them, the press also remained. It was thus an accident which caused the first printing press to be set up on Indian soil. The Jesuit in charge of it was called Juan Bustamante. He was, however, aided by an Indian who had been trained in Portugal and whom John III sent back with the press. We do not know who he was nor when he went to Europe, but we have the following description of him by Joao Nunes Barreto. "The Indian," he says writing from Goa, "has a very fine character and likes to go often to confession; during the voyage he prepared our food very devotedly, and here he has shown himself well versed in the art of printing." [12]

The coming of the press made it possible to print in 1557 the Portuguese catechism.[13] In 1561 was printed its Konkani version; for the annual letter of that year says, "After [divine service] they are taught a bit of catechism, which is also recited to them from leaflets in their own language which were printed at home." [14] This passage shows how the Konkani version that had been in existence from about 1545 was a translation of the Portuguese text and served as an aid to understand it.

As for Chorao, it had daily instruction for children since 1555 at least. In 1559 the number of children attending was about 100, and from the Jesuit Brother of the place we have the following description of them and their master: "A boy goes round with a bell and gathers and brings all the others, [and they come] singing the catechism in our Portuguese language. They have no need of the birch; for they do not dare to misbehave, and are very submissive and obedient. Many of them know their catechism and say it by heart every Saturday. They

have for their teacher a twelve-year-old blind boy, the son of a man who became a Christian three years ago, and he teaches them Christian doctrine. He is wont to go all round the island and knows each child by name and where it lives. When a child is absent he himself goes in search of it."[15] By the end of 1563 four other centres were established and the total number of children is now given as 430.[16]

Similar information is lacking for Divar, but we know that as its people were preparing for the baptism of 15 August, 1560, they requested Provincial Quadros to station there some of his men to continue instructing them.[17]

It will not be without interest to present at this point the available figures for baptisms at St. Paul's and in the Jesuit sector during the decade 1557-67. In the years 1557-58 there were about 3,000 baptisms; 3,233 in 1559; and 12,000 in 1560. As a result of the Archbishop forbidding the Religious to hold general baptisms the number was 800 in 1561, 785 or so in 1562, and somewhat more than 700 in 1563. The number rose when the prohibition was revoked, and we have 2,461 baptisms in 1564, excluding those of Salsette; 2,086 in 1565; 2,536 in 1566; and 2,550 in 1567.[18]

Next, passing on to the distribution of Christians over the area, we get the following picture. In 1560 we find the general affirmation that in that year "the whole of Daugim became Christian; so did the greater part of Carambolim, Guadalupe [Batim], Morcondim [Mercurim?], Moula; as also a large part of Aghashim and Goa Velha; and finally, entire Chorao and Divar."[19] In 1563 we learn more precisely that there were then 400 Christians in Daugim, and more than 900 in Banastarim. In 1566 we get the following figures for some of the other villages: 2,744 for the region of Batim, including Goa Velha, Malvara, and Mercurim; 811 for Gandaulim; 2,044 for Carambolim; the entire population of 2,270 for Aghashim; 2,120 for Divar, where the non-Christians are now said to be relatively few, of whom several had by then expressed the wish to become Christians; as for Chorao, we saw in Chapter V that the figure at this time was about 2,460.[20]

It is also just as well to cast a glance at the elementary school of St. Paul's where, as we saw towards the end of Chapter III, the custom of making children sing the catechism through the

streets originated. Attendance stood at about 300 in 1552; it then rose steadily, standing at more than 450 in 1556, at 500 in 1559, 645 in 1563, more than 700 in 1565, and more than 800 in 1566. The next year, however, the number was sharply reduced to 500 owing to the difficulty of providing teachers. The children included Burmese, Persians, Arabs, Africans, Malayans, Ceylonese, Siamese, Armenians, Portuguese, and Indians from widely different parts of the country: for besides Goa, we find also Gujarat, Maharashtra, Kanara, Kerala, and Bengal represented. Thus the school, like the catechumenate, was frequented by almost every people which resorted to the emporium of Goa, and enables us to get a glimpse of the spread of Jesus' message by this time to other parts of India and the East.[21] No wonder Visitor Gonçalo Alvarez, on hearing such a cosmopolitan group chanting the catechism through the streets, wrote to Francisco de Borja: "I believe Your Paternity would very much rejoice to see them, and I myself rejoice a thousand times to hear their catechism as they go chanting it through all these quarters of Goa."[22] This was quite in keeping with the native system, where chanting of lessons plays such a large part that even arithmetic tables are learnt that way.

The children began by learning to write, passed on to the reading class, and thence to the arithmetic class, this last subject being specially appreciated in keeping with the city's commercial character. Catechism was included in the daily routine. Discipline appears to have offered no special problem; so much so that on a certain day, when the number exceeded 700, the Father Rector on returning from a journey thought that there were no classes, until he opened the door and saw things for himself. The school began with just one Jesuit teacher, and though the number rose fast we find no more than two of them between 1562 and 1568. In Rome they wondered how it was at all possible for one or two teachers to attend to so many children and Gonçalo Alvarez was asked to look into the matter. The explanation is that brighter students were called upon to help the others. Similarly in 1562 sixteen children helped to make sufficient copies of text-books and reading material. The themes were all religious, consisting of histories of Saints and passages from the Bible. This was in keeping with Francis Xavier's idea of how the character of children was to be

moulded. For in 1548 he issued an instruction that children should be taught through lives of Saints and not "through acts or records of law-suits, lest by learning with their aid to read they should also learn to do likewise." The more gifted children passed from here to the Latin class and higher studies.[23]

The annual letter of 1557 contains the following anecdote of how a non-Christian was impressed by this education. "There came to this college," we read, "a Muslim, bringing his son with him. He told the porter that he did not want that son of his to turn out a rogue and that for fear of the harmful company of other boys he preferred him to become a Christian; for he would thus be better educated here. These were his very words. He then went away, leaving behind his son, who was made a Christian, though the man himself continued to be a Muslim. Later, the boy's mother became a Christian."[24]

And what was it that was proclaimed through the children and explained to the catechumens and neophytes?

The Portuguese catechism that was during most of our period committed to memory under Jesuit guidance had been composed by Francis Xavier himself at the time of his arrival in Goa, and remained in use till 1565.[25] It keeps to the structure of the catechisms current in that epoch and announces the Christian message in the following simple manner. It begins with the Sign of the Cross and a simple statement of what God has revealed about the secret of his life (the Most Holy Trinity). It then gives a Profession of Faith which goes back to the early third century and mainly deals with the place of Jesus Christ in God's plan for mankind (*Apostles' Creed*). Xavier knew that for these tenets to influence the lives of Christians, they had to be the inspiration and subject of their daily prayer. Hence, the Profession of Faith is followed by a prayer whereby the Christian promises to live and die in the brotherhood founded by Jesus Christ. Next, there is the peculiar prayer given by Jesus to his disciples (*Our Father*), and this is followed by a biblical salutation and a short plea to the Mother of Jesus (*Hail Mary*). Then come ten precepts which, though taken from the Bible, constitute a universal moral code (Ten Commandments). These are followed by some prayers for help to keep them. Then we have five laws of the Church, followed by a longer plea to the Mother of Jesus (*Hail, Holy Queen*)

and an acknowledgment of one's sinfulness before God (Act of Contrition). Then come catalogues of our evil inclinations (Seven Capital Sins) and the good habits whereby they have to be overcome, of the Christian's basic God-given impulses (Theological Virtues) and the virtuous habits that must moderate his conduct (Cardinal Virtues). Next, there are two sections specifying how a Christian has to be a good neighbour to his fellow-men. The first of these requires him to visit the sick, feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, redeem captives, clothe the destitute, be hospitable to strangers, and perform the last rites for the dead (Corporal Works of Mercy). The second section asks him to instruct the unlearned, give good counsel to those in need of it, administer punishment when necessary, console the sorrowful, pardon offences, bear insults bravely, and pray for the living and the dead (Spiritual Works of Mercy). Then comes an enumeration of the senses of the body and the faculties of the soul, the aim being to point out that they are God's gifts, to be appreciated and used well. Finally, after giving a warning that spiritual dangers have their origin in the wrong sort of attraction exerted by things, in one's own uncontrolled inclinations, and in the devil, the catechism concludes with some more prayers. The first Provincial Council required the Bishops to have a summary catechism composed, and explained on holy days. Accordingly, in 1568 the Archdiocese of Goa issued a catechism of its own, which in the main followed that of Xavier, but in addition, included a list of the sacraments; it contained, though, fewer prayers.[26]

In explaining these tenets, the condition of the catechumens was taken into account. Whereas Manuel d'Oliveira seems to have been particularly concerned about the origin of the world and the mission of Jesus Christ, whereas the *sannyasi* of Anjidiv seems to have been specially troubled about reward for one's good works, for simpler people it was first of all necessary to stress clearly God's spiritual nature. Such people had been, moreover, brought up in an age-long tradition of fear of harmful deities who had to be placated with gifts. The following incident will serve to illustrate this. As a Jesuit went about catechising the people of Divar after the baptisms of August, 1560, a certain man informed him that he was being plagued by the devil. It turned out that the devil was nothing else but

an ailment that had not left him for eight months. To such people it was believed necessary to explain the nature of evil and show that protection lay in true religious recourse to God who created and governs everything. A special effort was made to awaken in them a great attachment for Jesus and his Mother, and women in particular were told with enchanting simplicity that the Mother of Jesus is "a very great friend of Christian women." And since the people had been accustomed to regard polygamy as correct, the monogamous nature of marriage was emphasized. The mysteries were briefly stated and confusing explanations avoided, and they were taught to accept them on God's word and hold them in veneration.[27]

Not that there were none who felt inclined to return to some form or other of their former worship on a particular occasion. Our information for Chorao in 1563 even suggests it; for we are told that the Christians had grasped so well the catechism lesson of fraternal correction that no actual instance of former worship was ever observed.[28] The same thing is suggested by protests against allowing Hindus to leave Goa in order to attend festivals in Bijapur territory, one of the reasons given for prohibiting it being that "they persuade some of the recent Christians to do the same."[29] Means were also adopted to impress on the people that they had to take seriously their obligation of attending divine service on Sundays and holydays. In Chorao, for instance, a list of names in Latin and vernacular characters was fixed at the entrance of the church and attendance checked.[30]

By and large, however, our sources show great satisfaction with these first Christians. Such was their earnestness that, as one account has it, "the signs of genuine Christians appear more in some of these native Christians than in the Portuguese themselves."[31] Even one who readily generalised about the people's failings describes them as "God-loving and very refined."[32] And the fact is that in admitting them to the Lord's table, each one's preparedness was indeed tested and some time allowed to elapse before they were admitted, but there was never any general hesitation on this subject. And a priest who was closely associated with them tells us that, once admitted to the Lord's table, they grew in fervour and led unblemished lives.[33]

When questioned on the subject, they professed their readi-

ness to die rather than deny Jesus Christ, and from the year 1567 comes the following anecdote to illustrate this. "Years ago," we read, "a certain man who was guilty of a crime took refuge in the land of Muslims. And because he was repeatedly asked and importuned to become a Muslim, fearing he might yield through weakness, he passed a long time hiding during the day in a recess where none could see him and coming out [only] at night to seek the necessaries of life." [34]

Their common allegiance to Jesus Christ removed social barriers to the extent of bringing Goans and people of other climes together for divine service, and they partook of the same Lord's table.[35] The annual letter of 1567 has, moreover, preserved for us an instance of the conviction of Christian fellowship proving strong enough to impel a man to overcome his traditional sense of social superiority in order to endow a woman of inferior standing with the dignity of a wife. "A Hindu," we read, "who lived in the land of Muslims came over here to become a Christian, bringing along and taking for wife a widely known woman who had been attached to a certain temple; [he acted thus] solely that she might become a Christian, which she did; and this, even though she was of a low condition, while he himself was a highly honoured Brahmin." [36]

These neophytes showed, too, an understanding of baptism by diligently bringing their children for christening on the eighth day after birth. And this same diligence was observed in some catechumens who, if their child fell ill, called in a priest to baptise it. They were also solicitous about not letting anyone die without the consolations of religion, and their attitude to the sick and the rite of burial was now different from what it had been. For we are told, "whereas previously they considered it an ill omen to visit the sick, even when it happened to be a relative, or to help enshroud the dead and bear them to the grave, now by God's grace they have changed completely; and this appears from the care with which they prepare graves and bury their dead, and in other similar works of mercy." [37]

Specially in evidence were devotions which coincided with the traditional ones of the land.

Thus it was usual for them to have recourse to blessed water and relics in time of illness and stress, a recourse which sometimes gave unusual results. There was, for instance, the family

of Chorao, all of whose children were stricken with small-pox, two being actually carried away. The anguished father sought the aid of a priest. The house was sprinkled with blessed water, and from then on the stricken children began to recover. It is also recorded that some people of Divar were cured of cobra-bite by drinking blessed water. While of expectant mothers it is said that on having recourse to relics they had an easy confinement.[38]

In this category falls also the people's attachment to the Cross, sacred pictures, images, and beads.

They wished to die with an image of the Crucified in their hands. On entering their homes it was not uncommon to see a cross painted in the front room, images of the Crucified not being still available in abundance; and they loved, too, to set up crosses in the open. Thus in 1562 we find that a cross had been erected in Batim by the headman at the place where children used to gather for catechism. The Hindu scribe of the village, as a consequence of some differences with the headman, overthrew the cross at night and left the island. The Christians thereupon fashioned a new one and set it up with great rejoicing, while the headman celebrated the occasion with a banquet in which more than a hundred participated. The following year a fishing village of Chorao requested permission to do the same, and carried the cross in festive procession from the church to the destined place. In 1567 Greater Neura, too, with music and rejoicing raised a cross in a prominent place. Not satisfied with this, a man whose house lay somewhat far from the spot set up another cross with similar festivities.[39]

They showed their fondness for sacred articles by thronging round a new arrival and asking him whether he had brought any from Europe. One such thus expressed the impression this made on him: "Our brethren in Rome ought to come out loaded with such things for this reason alone: namely, in order to bring these things from Italy."[40] Patriarch Joao Nunes Barreto got the idea of putting the press at the service of this fondness and he was supported by Francisco Rodriguez. Thus it was that the first picture to be printed in India issued by November 1560. It represented Jesus on the cross, with his Mother and St. John standing on either side. The first impression was very limited; hence, when the pictures were distributed

on Sunday, 24 November, at the various centres of religious instruction in the Jesuit sector, only a dozen or so were available for each place. The following description of the event in Carambolim gives us an idea of what must have happened elsewhere. Those who got a picture received it kneeling, kissed the feet of the Crucified and, in the traditional fashion, placed it on their heads. Those who failed to get one did not hide their sorrow and went away vowing that they would get better ones made. A second impression of eight or ten thousand was therefore undertaken so that each village home could have one. Incidentally, we may hence infer that that was the approximate number of Christian homesteads in the villages of the Jesuit sector in 1560. At the same time, at the initiative of Provincial Quadros tin crosses began to be cast in large numbers for distribution specially among children. But grown-ups as well sought them eagerly, and they now replaced the symbols formerly worn round the neck.[41]

In keeping also with the age-old tradition which had drawn the people to the yearly festivals and fairs of popular shrines, they now came streaming in from all directions for the titular feasts and filled the churches to overflowing. They felt a special attachment for the Mother of Jesus and could be observed paying her homage by passing Saturday nights in the porches of her shrines; this practice, however, seems to have given rise to abuses and was forbidden by the first Provincial Council.[42]

The week dedicated to the suffering and death of Jesus, too, drew huge crowds. Although our information for this period is limited to St. Paul's, it suffices to give us an idea of how things were done at the time. Morning services on Maundy Thursday were surrounded with peculiar solemnity and the Altar of Repose was lavishly decorated with boughs, precious cloth, and silver. On Good Friday a touching Crucifix was shown to the crowd and a figure of Jesus reclining in death was carried in procession, while the children sang the moving plaint of Jeremias, "Orphaned sons of widowed mothers were not more defenceless." Hence it will be seen that the early celebrations were a sober affair.[43]

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, in some churches actors took up positions on the stage to represent scenes from the history of Jesus' death. The fifth Provin-

cial Council condemned this as unedifying, but held that the practice of showing Jesus being taken down from the cross on Good Friday inspired sincere religious sentiments and could be continued.[44] And in 1624 Pietro della Valle testifies already to the existence of *passos* or representations of various stages in the history of Jesus' death, a pliable statue being used for the purpose. "In the evening of every Friday of Lent," he writes, "there is a sermon upon the Passion in the [Jesuit] church of the Jesu; and so likewise in other churches, but on other days and hours. At the end of these sermons, certain tabernacles are opened and diverse figures, representing some passages of the Passion according to the subject of the sermon, are with lighted tapers shown to the people; as one day the *Ecce Homo;* another day, Our Lord with the cross upon His shoulders; and the last day, the Crucifix; and so everyday, one thing suitable to the purpose." The 'passos' as a feature of Lenten Sundays have continued down to our days, but in della Valle's time they were associated with a practice which he did not, as we would not today either, deem to be in good taste. "Oftentimes," he goes on, "they make these figures move and turn, as they made the robe fall off from the *Ecce Homo,* and discover the wounded body; at which sight the devout people utter prodigious cries, and the women force themselves to shriek out; and the Senhoras or Gentlewomen are so zealous that they not only cry out themselves, but make their maids do so too, and beat them even in the church if they do not, and that very loudly, whether they have a will to it or no. Strange devotion indeed!"[45]

The large place thus accorded to emotion was in keeping with the spirit of the late Middle Ages which, in contrast to the intellectualism of the preceding period, emphasized sentiment in religious life. Indeed, from 1552 onwards the Jesuit records do not fail to mention the people's "tears and sentiments," "devotion and profuse tears," or "long drawn out cries and tears," taking for granted that it would edify readers in Europe. In 1561 the Jesuits unexpectedly started scourging themselves in choir towards the end of evening service on Wednesday and Thursday in Holy Week. The people thereupon burst into subdued sobs and tears and men beat their breasts, plucked their beards, and beat themselves with their cinctures and swordbelts. From Portugal Visitor Jeronimo Nadal ordered Provincial Quad-

ros to stop the practice.[46] Quadros, however, appealed to the Head of the Order, pointing out that the practice was in keeping with the tradition of the land. "It was not stopped," he wrote, "because it is a matter of importance and the people take it well. Besides, the people of the land are very much edified by it and expect much more of us. For at their feasts men throw themselves under chariots and hang in the air transfixed from side to side by iron hooks and perform other similar sacrifices in honour of their gods."[47] Francisco de Borja then overruled Nadal.[48]

By this time the Jesuits had also started exhibiting a crib during Christmastide. This too Nadal wanted to stop. Once again Quadros appealed to Rome, because the crib was in keeping with the land. "It is visited," he said, "only by the people of the land, and it is set up on their account."[49] And once more Borja overruled Nadal.[50] These two appeals of Quadros enable us to judge Melchior Nunes Barreto's accuracy when at the height of the debate he told Laynez in 1562, "Father Antonio de Quadros very well understands India and the ways of its people."

And that brings us to mysteries such as Easter, and *Corpus Christi* or Christ's eucharistic presence. These were celebrated with dances, fireworks, and to the sound of bagpipes, drums, trumpets, flutes, and fiddles. Arches and foliage lavishly adorned the route along which the procession was to pass, people decorated their doorways and windows with precious cloths and carpets, and candles burned in almost every nook. These celebrations, we are told, besides attracting non-Christians, also served to remind some Christians of the joy of heaven and stimulate them to take their obligations seriously.[51]

Regarding dances, the annual letter of 1558 speaks of children alone as taking part in them at St. Paul's. But from a decree of the second Provincial Council we gather that by then the process had gone further and that men as well as women had begun to participate in processions dressed up as Saints, while in the spirit of the Holi festival men even dressed up as women dancers. The Council condemned this as irreverent and childish, but met the people half way by permitting men to dance dressed up decently as men. Nevertheless, the third Provincial Council had reason to complain that its predecessor's decree was not being

fully observed, and the fifth Provincial Council had possibly even to stem attempts to introduce women dancers.[52]

The dangers and distractions connected with fireworks also attracted the attention of the fourth Provincial Council. "Experience shows," ran its decree, "the impropriety and dangers connected with feasts celebrated with fireworks and gunpowder, and besides, in place of devotion they bring about distraction and dissolution at functions which have to be performed with peace of soul and fervour of spirit. Wherefore this Council, desirous of eliminating such impropriety, ordains and enjoins that at no religious feast should there be any display of fireworks and gunpowder and no ecclesiastical or lay person should employ them at processions or make use of them in the celebration of a church feast, even when it happens to be celebrated by the Religious; and this, under pain of excommunication and a fine of ten *pardaos* each time one is caught at it." [53] However, fireworks continued down to our own times, distracting attention even at moments normally dedicated to silent adoration.

We have also the account of how a particular traditional feast now spontaneously found a place in the people's Christian life. Formerly the *joshi* or astrologer used to bless the rice harvest and the people used to go in procession to offer the newly harvested sheaves at the temple. We saw, too, in Chapter II how quite early, as a matter of social usage, the elders of Taleiganv went and offered their sheaves at St. Catherine's church. Here is what now happened in Divar. Shortly after the baptisms of August, 1560, the people of a certain village requested the priest to come and bless their harvest. They went to the spot carrying a banner with the names of Jesus and St. Paul on it. They then came in procession to the church where the priest first laid his sheaf on the altar-steps and was followed by the rest. The people of Malar did the same. Those of Goltim and Navelim took it amiss that they had not been informed, and, returning home after divine service, came back with their sheaves to the accompaniment of music and dance.[54]

As for the character of these Christians, it is true that in his explanation of 1561 to the Court Provincial Quadros stated that several of them gave up their previous humbler avocations and sought a different type of work. In 1568 the diocesan authorities

complained of several who actually idled away their time, thus becoming a burden to others.[55] But barring this, the records evince their delicacy of conscience and generosity. They frequently resorted to the priest to be their mediator at God's altar, maintained their places of worship, and brought oil for the lamps as though they had been Christians all their lives. Poor though many of them were, they all, including the most recent neophytes, came forward with their offering at the Sunday service; and if through inadvertence the priest withdrew before they had time to come up, they followed him to the altar that their offering might not fail; and our source here adds, "such is the general disposition of all the Christians of this land." As one entered their homes one saw in the front room, if not a picture of the Crucified, at least a painted cross. Here the family gathered every evening to recite the catechism and say the prayers; and once again our source does not fail to add, "this is the general practice." The law of fasting, too, they took seriously, and the following incident is given as an illustration of this. "As regards fasting," we read, "when I asked one of these Christians whether he kept some of the Church's fasts, he replied that he fasted throughout Lent and was scandalised at the Portuguese; for on visiting their homes in Lent he found them taking their breakfast and supper, and dining on meat, even though they had little excuse to do so." [56]

They felt keenly the want of priests who could speak to them in their own tongue, and when they knew of one they repeatedly braved the heat of the sun in order to secure his ministrations. Our information on this subject is scanty for the early period. Thus, not till 1556 do we clearly hear of a Konkani speaking priest who is described as "born in the land itself" and who must have been the son of a Portuguese settler. The Jesuits secured his services for Chorao. In 1566 we definitely learn that there were at the time just two Konkani speaking priests in the Islands, Pedro d'Almeida being one of them. In order to remedy this, already in 1563 some young Jesuits were put to study Konkani with the help of a Goan student of theology who composed a grammar for the purpose, this being the first Konkani grammar we hear of.[57] It was moreover thought that knowledge of Konkani would enable one to make oneself understood all along the coast northwards till Bassein. But its mastery proved

difficult in the Portuguese atmosphere of St. Paul's, and so, in the beginning of October 1565, eight Jesuit students were set apart on Chorao there to learn and speak exclusively Konkani. Archbishop Gaspar affectionately encouraged these efforts, and when he visited Chorao in 1566, two students reciprocated by greeting him in Konkani, the speeches being translated for him by a Goan cleric. Glad encouragement came from the people, too, who said of the more gifted students that they explained Christian truths in Konkani better than they themselves could have done even if they had known as much theology. In 1567 two of them were ordained priests, thus bringing the number of Konkani speaking priests to four, and in the same year the first Provincial Council in a special decree added its own encouragement to the study of vernaculars.[58]

In conclusion, it will be recalled from Chapter III that the Confraternity of Holy Faith had established St. Paul's in order to educate native boys from all over the East for the priesthood. The regulations framed by the Confraternity in 1546 allotted ten places, the highest number, to Goans, giving as reason that "this institution is established in this land." Six places each were provided for boys from the following regions: Tamilnad, Kerala, Kanara, Gujarat, Bengal, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Madagascar. The Confraternity's pedagogical insight is worth noting; for it required that the boys should be thirteen to fifteen years old at the time of admission, lest, if received earlier, they should forget their native language. Moreover, the different groups had to meet frequently in order to practise their vernacular. The future priests, therefore, grew up in that atmosphere of universal brotherhood which is a requisite for accepting the message of Jesus. The number of Goan boys fairly soon exceeded the places originally assigned to them. Beginning with 8 in 1546, they numbered 21 in 1556, and 40 in 1557.[59]

Though the Confraternity itself soon ceased to exist, its work continued, and came to fruition in 1558 when for the first time a son of Goan parents was ordained. He had been one of the first to be admitted and had throughout his long training, which included the teaching of catechism to the children of Carambolim, given every evidence that he would make a good priest. He sang his first Mass at St. Paul's on Ascension Day, May 19.

His parents and relatives and many of his countrymen were present, and our source describes thus the moment of the offering: "They came forward with their gifts in order to kiss his hands, and there were tears of joy in their eyes." [60] He was André Vaz, whom we found at Carambolim in 1560 when the elders decided to become Christians; he must also be the other Konkani speaking priest alluded to in 1566 in association with Pedro d'Almeida.

At the beginning of the following century Gonçalves could write: "From the College of Holy Faith have issued many clerics, of whom we know many who with great edification and spiritual fruit exercise their ministry towards the souls entrusted to them, without forgetting the holy zeal which as students they had of conveying Jesus' message to their countrymen." [61]

EPILOGUE

THAT is how, then, the Goa Islands were christianised. By carefully selecting some documents and misreading others it could, of course, be easily presented as a tale of "general intolerance" [1] and "a dismal record of callousness and cruelty, tyranny and injustice." [2] On the other hand, even the severest contemporary critics gave the evangelists credit for their goodwill, and it is doubtful whether a modern historian has any reason to do less. If he but keeps in mind their humanism, he will be able to understand and explain their conduct; for, indeed, much was done which today needs understanding and explaining. But that is exactly the task of an historian. As C. H. Dodd writes: "The best historian of the past is one who has so familiarized himself with his period that he can feel and judge its significance as from within." [3]

A regrettable injustice was indeed done to those who had no wish to become Christians, performed their ceremonies, and endured the penalties of the law. On the other hand, Hindu society has in the meantime rejected much that those early messengers of Jesus could not approve of. Widow burning has been abolished for good; if today an augur were to advise parents to do away with their child, he will find that he has to deal with the officers of the law; if self-immolations of the type that used to occur in Salsette were now sought to be revived, the national authorities would no doubt intervene; and it was a Hindu deputy who finally got the Goa Assembly in our own days to pass a bill forbidding girls to be dedicated to temple-service.[4] What all this meant for the first generation of Christians is best expressed in the words of a dying man of Salsette in the beginning of the seventeenth century. "My Father," he told the ministering Jesuit, "I am about to end my life. Let not Your Reverence ever tire of continuing to labour as you have begun; for it is God himself that has sent Your Reverences for the good of our people's bodies and souls. And since God has entrusted our people to Your Reverence and the other Fathers, bringing you from so far away for the purpose, let not

our ingratitude make you give up, nor should you expect any recompense from us but from God alone. Remember too that He it is who does the most, and without Him none of these results would have been achieved. Who ever thought to see what we today behold among our people!"[5] This is surely not the language of one who had seen his people being forced to bow to an alien faith.

The country has, too, as a requisite of social equality, national cohesion, and international fellowship today accepted many of the ideals for which those priests stood. They had no doubt in their own minds that even when some of their Christian brethren misunderstood and misrepresented them, it was not too great a price to pay for their loyalty to their ideals and their love for the Indian people; and had they been able to look into the future, they would have hesitated even less to pay the price. On the other hand, there were Hindus in those days who understood and befriended them, and thus was initiated the tradition of friendliness which in course of time characterised the relations between the Hindus and Christians of Goa.[6]

APPENDIX

THE GOA INQUISITION

It was mentioned in Chapter IV that Archbishop Gaspar was the first Grand Inquisitor of Goa. Yet, it was not thought necessary to include the Inquisition in the body of this study because there is no indication that it did anything to make people ask for baptism. However, since it finds mention in current historical writings, it was felt that an appendix should be devoted to the subject.[1]

Three points are generally raised in connection with the Inquisition: the use of force to secure religious conformity, that of torture to get confessions, and the burning at the stake.

As for the first point, there is a limit to the extent to which the State can abstain from enforcing morality, the limit depending on the measure in which a people at a given moment in their social evolution feel that grave general harm will otherwise result. Thus, even the modern pluralist society maintains that the State has to enforce public morality. But the concept of public morality has at different periods included variable elements in keeping with the character of a particular society. Hence it is that some ancient Indian writers compared the denial of survival after death with the greatest of crimes, that of the murder of a priest, and prescribed banishment for it. Whether this was ever put into practice or not, it at least testifies to the theoretical rejection by a section of ancient Indian society, founded as it was on *Dharma* or a system of social and religious laws, of any attempt to undermine the foundations of morality.[2] Similarly, the Roman state saw in the worship of the ancient gods, and later of the Emperor, a moral obligation guaranteeing a citizen's loyalty. It was because the Christians repudiated this obligation that they were sent to death, even though they professed full political loyalty.[3]

After the Roman Emperors in the fourth century had accepted Christianity, whenever a dissident Christian group arose, it would attempt to gain the support of the State against orthodox believers. If they failed, as happened to the Donatists, they did not stop short of violence.[4] If they succeeded, as did the Arians, they used their influence to break up the orthodox orga-

nisation. It was in such circumstances that a debate arose among the orthodox, too, as to the legitimacy of invoking the coercive authority of the State. The idea was not accepted as a matter of course, and when about A.D. 384 a dissident by name Priscillian was for the first time condemned to death at the instance of some bishops, the proceedings were strongly denounced by Ambrose of Milan and Martin of Tours, eminent churchmen both of them.[5] But gradually the view gained ground that in the interests of public morality Christians had to be compelled to conform to orthodox belief. The final argument was worked out in the Middle Ages, when heresy was compared to treason, and therefore, punishable with confiscation and death. It was further sought to corroborate this position by pointing out that a dissenter did not keep his thoughts to himself but endeavoured to pass them on to others, thereby disseminating treason to God.[6] We saw the influence of this thought towards the end of Chapter IV in Quadros's appeal to Gregory the Great, though it can be criticised for falling short of the principles of human fellowship and free communication of what one believes to be one's upright convictions, to which Catholic thinkers of the time appealed in defence of their liberty to preach the religion of Jesus.

As regards torture, it was admitted both in the Dharmashastras and in Roman law.[7] The Germanic tribes who overran the Roman Empire did not know of it, but had instead trial by ordeal. The attitude first taken in this matter by the Church was well expressed by Pope Nicholas I (858-67) who condemned the use of torture among the Bulgarians in the following terms: "Such proceedings are contrary to the law of God and man; for a confession ought to be spontaneous not forced, it ought to be free and not the result of violence. . . . If . . . a prisoner, under the stress of torture, acknowledges himself guilty of a crime he never committed, is not the one who forced him to lie guilty of a heinous crime?" [8] But four centuries later, even while the Church was banning trial by ordeal, the use of torture was, under the influence of Roman law, given a place in her penal system. Thus, Pope Innocent IV (1243-54) by an appeal to public morality authorised the use of torture on heretics, giving as his reason that "thieves and robbers are forced to accuse their accomplices and confess their crimes; for these heretics are true thieves and murderers of souls and robbers of the sacraments of God." [9]

And coming to death by fire, that, too, was admitted in the

Dharmashastras not only when it was a question of getting a widow to burn herself for reasons of conjugal fidelity or social prestige, but also as a penalty for treason and for forcing one's way into the royal harem.[10] Roman law too had prescribed death at the stake for Manichaeans. And under the influence of Roman law the Christian Middle Ages, which regarded heresy precisely as treason, thought it natural to extend this penalty to religious dissenters.[11]

We see, then, that the things generally objected to in the Inquisition—the use of the State's coercive authority against religious dissent, the use of torture, and death by burning—are all present in the Dharmashastras. Nonetheless, some Indian authors affirm that " the Inquisition and *auto-da-fé* were practices particularly revolting to the Indian mind," [12] and that " the establishment of the Inquisition of Goa in 1561 and the *auto-da-fé* (first instance in 1563) further destroyed any chance of a sympathetic attitude towards missionary effort under the Portuguese in the powerful Hindu courts who ruled South India at the time." [13]

That a public burning would impress and awe people is obvious. But did it strike contemporaries as being unnatural and revolting when inflicted for a grave violation of public morality as then understood? The Jesuit annual letter of 1559 describes how that year Viceroy Bragança had five men publicly burnt for homosexuality. We are then told that " this speedy execution of justice spread terror and fear throughout the city," but it is at the same time suggested that men regarded it as a salutary fear which prevented the evil from spreading.[14]

And that brings us to the Inquisition of Portugal and Goa. The institution was authorised for Portugal by Pope Clement VII (1523-34) at the request of King John III. It is obvious that the combination of prosecutor and judge in the same person could give rise to injustices if zeal exceeded charity, and both Clement VII and his successor, Paul III (1534-49), found reason to protest against the procedure in Portugal.[15]

On hearing that the Inquisition had been introduced into Portugal, Miguel Vaz requested the King to introduce it into India as well. He argued that the prevalence of moral abuse demanded it; nor did he think that people would resent it, but would rather be glad to be kept in this way on the right path.[16]

In the early days there was difference of opinion among the Jesuits as to the advisability of transplanting the Inquisition to India. Francis Xavier expressed himself in favour of it, though

he does not seem to have intended it for indigenous Christians. But in 1555 Melchior Carneiro and the then Viceprovincial, Baltazar Diaz, argued against it precisely in view of the situation of the indigenous Christians. The latter pointed out that, as it was, the Christians were being ill-treated, and the introduction of the Inquisition would make things still more difficult for them. The former pleaded that for at least twenty years more the people's disposition should be taken into account and leniency should be the rule. But in the years 1558-59 Gonçalo da Silveira and Melchior Nunes Barreto affirmed its necessity, believing that, far from frightening the Christians into abandoning the land, it would act as a restraint against certain age-old habits and make of them better Christians than those of Europe.[17]

In the meantime, royal authorisation establishing the Inquisition reached Goa in 1554 or 1555, but remained inoperative because there was no bishop at the time and because the one who brought the authorisation himself died shortly after his arrival.[18] The institution finally established itself here in 1560, when Archbishop Gaspar came out as Grand Inquisitor bringing with him two inquisitors.[19]

From the Jesuit accounts we get the following information about the activity of the Inquisition in the years 1560-67. Its first *auto-da-fé* was held on 20 September, 1562, with Provincial Quadros preaching the sermon; but we do not know who and how many were involved, nor what the sentences were.[20] But we also learn about a different activity of the Inquisition that year. Catarina de Farao chanced one day on a group of African women who were being taken by a Muslim slave-dealer to be sold in the neighbouring Muhammadan kingdoms. From a small girl in the group she learned that, like herself, they were Ethiopians. She snatched the women and produced them before the Archbishop, explaining that they were all Christians captured in slave raids. "The Archbishop and the inquisitors," we are then told, "went into the matter so thoroughly that they snatched about a hundred souls from among those that had been thus brought away, and sent them to this college to be instructed in matters of religion."[21]

The year 1563 witnessed two *autos-da-fé*, with Francisco Rodriguez in the pulpit for the second one. We are told that on both these occasions "many were led forth, the majority of whom were foreign Protestants."[22] The following year again saw the *auto-da-fé* twice, with Francisco Rodriguez in the pulpit

both the times. We are now expressly informed that "at each one of these *autos-da-fé* one condemned man was led to death," and that Jesuits assisted them spiritually in their last moments.[23] Considering that we are not told anything about the nature of the sentences in the two previous years, this special reference to the death sentence suggests that such a thing was considered extraordinary, and therefore not to be omitted. In 1565, until December 6 there was one *auto-da-fé*, with Pedro Ramirez, then Rector of St. Paul's, in the pulpit. Once again, there is silence regarding the sentences.[24] In 1566 we are just told that the Jesuits were accustomed to minister to all prisoners, including those of the Inquisition, and to assist those who were condemned to death; but no *auto-da-fé* is mentioned.[25] Lastly, in 1567 there was one *auto-da-fé*, with Melchior Nunes Barreto, who had come from Cochin to attend the first Provincial Council, in the pulpit; here, too, our account makes it a point to mention that there were three executions and that the men died with the spiritual assistance of Jesuits.[26]

The connection of the Jesuits with the Inquisition was not, however, limited to spiritual ministrations; for in these early years they were also habitually asked to act as assessors and sign the sentences. In 1565 the Provincial of Portugal expressed himself against this. But after seeking the opinion of his colleagues, Melchior Nunes Barreto turned to Francisco de Borja, explaining that though they would be glad to be free from this burden, yet that was not possible both because of the paucity of theologians and because the Archbishop and people would take serious offence if they withdrew altogether. He therefore suggested that they should not too readily accept to serve, but only when circumstances made it inevitable. Barreto's personal view, though, was that they could well limit themselves to giving their opinion without having to sign the acts.[27] Borja in reply absolutely forbade his subjects to act as assessors, though he accepted Barreto's suggestion and permitted them to express their opinion on purely theological matters. Giving his reason he said that the office of assessor "constitutes jurisdiction, and over the lives and honour of persons at that, and, as such, cannot be exercised without being hated by many."[28] A decade later, we still find Jesuits acting as assessors, but they had certainly ceased to do so by 1614, though outside Goa several of them continued to act as commissaries of the Inquisition.[29]

Regarding the working of the Inquisition, Priolkar makes a rather remarkable statement. "During the early years," he

writes, " reliance was placed almost entirely on political coercion, and on the power of the Inquisition, after it was established in 1560, to achieve this end [i.e. proselytisation]. When the converts showed a tendency to revert to the practices of their old faith, they were hauled up before the Inquisition, their property confiscated and in extreme cases they were sentenced to be burnt at the stake. But experience soon demonstrated that force alone could not bring about the desired end. This belated realisation led to a reorientation of the policy, which is evidenced by the emphasis placed on the value of religious education of the converts in the resolutions of the Concilio Provincial at its sessions of 1567, 1575, 1585, 1592, and 1606." [30]

The author does not produce a single piece of evidence to show that the Inquisition penalised indigenous Christians in the years 1560-67. On the contrary, the fact that the Jesuit accounts, which were primarily concerned with Goan Christians, make no mention of any such as figuring at the several processes of the Inquisition in these years, would at first sight favour the supposition that they were not prominently involved. Indeed, such a statement as Priolkar's could only be made by altogether ignoring the evidence set forth here in Chapters III, IV, V, VII, and VIII for the people's disposition before and after they accepted the message of Jesus. From a letter written by an inquisitor to the Court in 1575 we infer that in the years 1561-74 three hundred and twenty " Christians of the land " were examined, but it is also said that no rigour was employed against them; and a similar letter of the following year explains that steps were taken to instruct them better.[31]

This is not to say that no Inquisitor ever acted in an arguable manner. In 1731, for example, contrary to facts an Inquisitor held that the Provincial Councils had forbidden the use of the vernacular; for the five Provincial Councils to be held till then, had not only issued no prohibition against the vernacular, but the first, third, and fourth had expressly favoured its use in the instruction of indigenous Christians, the fourth even going so far as to ordain that a priest had to know the vernacular before he could be put in charge of a church where such Christians were in a majority.[32]

Again, in 1736 the Inquisition issued an edict which forbade the use of native family names as well as the custom of the bride and bridegroom eating from the same dish as part of the wedding celebrations. The first prohibition reversed the process whereby it was being shown that Indian culture has a legitimate

place in the universal brotherhood founded by Jesus Christ; for, as we saw in Chapter I, native family names had been admitted since the end of the sixteenth century. The second prohibition would imply that the custom of the bride and bridegroom eating from the same dish had till then been observed. This is a fine old custom of the land, vividly symbolising that the two lives are henceforth merged together; and it has been remarked that, in the light of this custom, the Indian mind would easily understand the unifying significance of the Common Meal which is Jesus' gift to mankind.[33]

But it would be inaccurate to characterise a whole institution by the lack of understanding, or even honesty, which some of its members might have from time to time shown. A proper history would also have to test the correctness of the accounts in which the inquisitors appear in a less unfavourable light. We have, for instance, two accounts of the imprisonment in mid-seventeenth century of a certain French Capuchin, Friar Ephraim by name. One is by the contemporary French traveller, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, and the other by the Italian, Manucci, who passed the greater part of his life in India in the latter part of the same century. Both authors claim Friar Ephraim himself as their source.

According to Tavernier, the Friar was put in a cell ventilated by an aperture measuring not more than half a square foot. He had as his companion a Maltese who had been a prisoner of the Inquisition twice before, and who " blasphemed God at every other word and passed the whole day and part of the night taking tobacco, a circumstance which could not but cause serious discomfort to Father Ephraim." When, according to custom, the prisoners were asked every morning what sort of food they wanted that day, this one asked for practically nothing but tobacco. As for Friar Ephraim, " he was," says Tavernier, " never allowed to have a single book nor given so much as a small bit of candle, and he was treated as rigorously as a criminal who had already twice emerged from the Inquisition bearing the sulphurated shirt and the cross of Saint Andrew in front, in order to accompany to their execution those who were to be done to death." [34]

On the other hand, Manucci, who liked to collect gossip and felt no partiality for the Inquisition, tells us that the Friar was at first given an unhealthy cell but was later moved to a better one and given a companion to look after him. He then continues: " This companion remained with him from June 4, 1650,

until November 5, 1651 [the day of his release]; it was, however, a privilege accorded to all prisoners. Food was the same for everybody. Those who wanted it had breakfast at six in the morning, dinner was at ten o'clock, and supper at four o'clock in the evening. The quality was decent, and the quantity sufficient for one person." [35]

We have here two accounts, both of which claim to have the authority of the victim himself; nevertheless, the second represents the treatment given to the prisoner more favourably than the first.

We may now conclude with Tavernier's account of his own interview with the Inquisitor in 1648. After describing how he was introduced into the Inquisitor's presence, he goes on: "As soon as I entered, he said that I was welcome, and after I had paid him my compliments he asked me what my religion was. I told him that I professed the Protestant Religion. He asked me straightaway whether my father and mother had also been of the same Religion. And when I said yes, he assured me once more that I was welcome and called out to some people in the vicinity that they could enter. At the same time, the ends of some hangings were raised and I saw appear ten or twelve persons who had remained in a small room by the side. The first to enter were two Augustinian Religious, then came two Dominicans, two Discalced Carmelites, and some other ecclesiastical persons, to whom the Inquisitor explained who I was and that I had no forbidden book with me, as, knowing the orders, I had left my Bible at Mingrela [i.e. Vengurla]. We talked for two hours about various things, and specially of my voyages; the entire gathering attested that it took pleasure in hearing my account. Three days later, the Inquisitor sent me word asking me to come and dine with him in a beautiful mansion situated half a league from the City and belonging to the Discalced Carmelite Fathers." [36]

Such was the reception accorded by the Inquisitor and his associates to one who had grown up in different religious convictions.

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NOTES

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. Müllbauer 79. Latourette III 251-63.
2. Schmidlin 243f.
3. Beckmann 73.
4. Wicki, ' Die ält. kath. Miss.' 356.
5. Allard 184-91.
6. SR VII 368. Trindade I 289.
7. DI IV 195. Couto VII 5, 5. For data on Couto cfr. n. 2 to Ch. IV.
8. Gonçalves IX 1. Souza II 1, 1, 8.
9. DI VI 617f.
10. DI VI 596 708.
11. Nayak 33.
12. DI IV 754.
13. Gonçalves IX 15.
14. DI VI 358f. Cfr. Souza II 1, 1, 8.
15. DI VII 63 398. Cfr. Souza II 1, 1, 13.
16. DI VI 543. For a more general discussion on this subject cfr. Correia-Afonso.

NOTES TO CH. I

1. DI V 583.
2. DI III 327.
3. DI VI 88.
4. DI I 291 293f. Cfr. ib. 584-86; II 159f.
5. Gonçalves IX 3.
6. Gonçalves IX 11.
7. Gonçalves I 128. DI V 135.
8. Trindade II 929. Cfr. Sastri, *Hist. of S. India* 323f.
9. DI III 430.
10. Trindade I 307f. Cfr. Kane II 7.
11. Lucena I 96f. Cfr. Sastri, *Hist. of S. India* 356f.
12. DI VII 391.
13. DI IV 677.
14. Kane II 611-17. DI III 406; IV 313.
15. Gonçalves IX 3.
16. DI III 727f; IV 800 830f. *Bull. App.* I 113. EX II 8.
17. DI IV 367 596; VI 369.
18. DI VI 681f.
19. Gonçalves IX 3.
20. DI VII 60.
21. DI VI 361.
22. DI VII 603f. Souza relates this incident with some variations in II, 1, 1, 3.

23. The Jesuit churches at the time in Salsette were: Holy Spirit at Margao, St. Michael at Orlim, Our Lady of the Snows at Rachol, SS. Philip and James at Cortalim, and Holy Cross at Verna—Cfr. DI VII 546.
24. DI VII 606f. Cfr. Gonçalves X 9. Souza II, 1, 1, 17.

NOTES TO CH. II

1. Pissurlencar, *Goa Pre-Portuguesa* 35-37.
2. DI VII 442. Cfr. ib. 174.
3. The rainy season was called ' inverno ' or winter because it resembles the European winter in that it is the wet season—DI VI 70.
4. DI VI 282f. 469f. Gonçalves I 96.
5. DI I 253; IV 645 784. Given the way population figures vary in contemporary accounts, they must be considered as rather rough estimates.
6. DI III 114; VI 283.
7. *Bull.* I 100f. DI I xvf. Silva Rego, *Hist.* I 289. Biermann 81-90. SR. III 565.
8. SR X 334f. Cfr. *Conc. Trid. Act.* P. VI 979.
9. *Cambr. Sh. Hist.* 496. Fonseca 79. Silva Rego, *Hist.* I 41. DI IV 825; V 166f. For the composition of the Council of State see, for instance, the record of its session, March 23, 1645, in ACE III 83-85.
10. DI V 165; VI 680. *Cartas de D.J. de Castro* 296.
11. The text of the Charter has been reproduced by Lopes Mendes, II 180-98. The references in bare Roman numbers refer to the clauses of the Charter.
12. I VII XI XII XLII. DI VI 118. Cfr. DI II 577, where we learn that when in Jan. 1553 an enquiry was held into the former temple lands of Greater Neura, there were present the three village scribes who are described as people who " knew the above mentioned lands very well and could identify them."
13. II VI XLIV. Cfr. Xavier II 7 n.23. Xavier-de Sa I 171 ftn. 3; II 3.
14. VI VIII XIV. For the existence of such state control over village administration under ancient Indian rulers, cfr. Havell 162.
15. Kane II 965-67.
16. SR I 152.
17. XXX.
18. Husain 87f.
19. XXVII XXVIII XXIX XXX.
20. XVI XL. Kane III 493.
21. Kane II 388.
22. Sastri, *Hist. of S. India* 228f.
23. XXVII. Cfr. Valignano 28f.
24. Kane II 389-91.
25. Kane III 184 564.
26. DI II 129. Cfr. Souza I, 1, 2, 33. Moreland-Chatterjee 30.
27. DI IV 345f.
28. *Bull. App.* I 25. EX II 397. DI VII 385f. Wicki, ' Auszüge ' nn. 22f.

29. XXI. DI I 71. Moreland-Chatterjee 30.
30. III. Lopes Mendes I 66; II 192-200.
31. VI VII XX.
32. SR V 108f.
33. Cfr. Yule-Burnell, arts. ' Pardao ' and ' Tanga '. Carmo Nazareth 15 20.
34. Kanc II 66-99. DI IV 213. Valignano 39f.
35. DI IV 324.
36. Sastri, *Hist. of S. India* 308f.
37. DI I 87; IV 321 337 672. Valignano 30f.
38. Pissurlencar, *Agentes* xlii-xlvii 19-21. DI I 69f 327. SR I 354. The India-Letters 249.
39. Pissurlencar, *Agentes* xlviii. DI I 69 326 763; II 576. Gonçalves IX 11. A certain Gopu Sinai also figures as government interpreter in the time of Governor Nuno da Cunha (1529-38)—APO fasc. 5, 156.
40. DI I 68f. 744; IV 3f; V 165.
41. *Cambr. Hist. of India* IV 470f.
42. XLI XLV XLVI. DI IV 599. Gonçalves IX 2. Cfr. DI IV 9.
43. Whiteway, p. 230, incorrectly renders this passage as follows: " When two headmen equal in rank have to take betel, they shall stand together with their arms crossed left over right." He then comments in a footnote: " This is unintelligible as an eastern would not receive in his left hand."
44. XLVII.

NOTES TO CH. III

1. DI I 759.
2. SR I 354.
3. SR I 452.
4. " No dia siguiente que Afonso dalboquerque ganhou a cidade lhe veo fallar Crisna, & pedir seguro pera hos Bramanes & outros moradores da ilha que logo deu. . . ." Damiao de Goes, *Crónica de D. Manuel*, cited by Pissurlencar, *Agentes* 1.
5. DI V 193f.
6. DI I 758f.
7. DI I 45.
8. M. Vaz's good judgment is testified to both by the Cathedral Chapter of Goa and by Francis Xavier; Governor Joao de Castro, too, commended his virtue and ability—SR III 126. EX I 249 282. *Cartas de D. J. de Castro* 32.
9. APO fasc. 1, 1, 23. DI I 29 45 55 99. *Cartas de D. J. de Castro* 33. The reference to his lack of balance occurs in connection with his immoderate sorrow at the death of M. Vaz, so that he himself died shortly afterwards—DI I 214. SR III 490f.
10. SR IV 150 565f. DI I 328 542f. Governor Joao de Castro too praised the Bishop's discretion and good sense—*Cartas de D. J. de Castro* 309.
11. A Portuguese official informed the King in 1541 that M. Vaz had " found a way of demolishing the temples and images in this island " —DI I 793. And M. Vaz himself wrote about Fabiao Gonçalvez that " by his hand were destroyed and pulled down all the temples and houses of idolatry that were in Goa "—SR II 343.

12. We learn from Antonio do Porto, the Franciscan Superior of Bassein, that the temples of Goa " were pulled down with much uproar "—SR IV 63f.
13. Correa IV, 1, 290. Correa's account may be accepted as true, and P. S. S. Pissurlencar quotes it without questioning its accuracy—BIVG (68) 36f. And Priolkar, whose avowed purpose it is to tell this story in the words of the original documents, omits this particular passage—Cfr. *The Goa Inq.* I 68.
14. Kane II 2 914.
15. In contrast to this, the temples of Salsette and Bardez were forcibly demolished in 1567, though one must not forget the events that preceded the final act—This matter has been dealt with in *The Examiner,* 10 Febr. 1962, pp. 82, 86.
16. Fonseca was one of the earliest modern writers to make this statement —Fonseca 56f.
17. DI I 780-86 789f.
18. DI 760-65 791.
19. DI I 52 805f.
20. BIVG (62) 74 172.
21. DI I 758f.
22. For the position of the Dharmashastras on this subject, cfr. Kane II 144 186f.
23. Lopes Mendes II 186.
24. SR XI 32f. DI II 576. Pissurlencar, *Goa Pre-Portuguesa* 19f.
25. DI I 780f.
26. EX I 81 249 282.
27. For instance, Julius Richter, who says, " Roman missionary activity in the second half of the XVI century followed in Xavier's track "—Richter 19.
28. EX I 434f. DI II 303.
29. Bishop Albuquerque writing to the King in Nov., 1549, defended the measure against criticism and stated that it had been in existence for about 10 years—SR IV 138.
30. DI I 66-70 86f 744. *Ceylon zur Zeit* I 317.
31. EX I 250 252. SR III 126.
32. SR III 199. DI I 66 69 104f 106. *Ceylon zur Zeit* I 341.
33. DI III 350 ftn. 88. Santos II 96f.
34. That is what they understood by the term ' idolatry ' which occurs so frequently in their writings—Cfr. DI I 66 70. SR II 343. *Ceylon zur Zeit* I 321.
35. DI I 244 246 289-92; II 373 549f. EX I 170-174.
36. DI I 51 254.
37. Kane II 632. DI III 406. Some scholars have held that, to give greater authority to the custom of widow burning, the word ' agneh ', ' of fire ', was substituted for ' agre ', ' first ', in a Rigvedic text, which really read: " Without tears, without sorrow, bedecked with jewels, let the wives go up to the altar first "—Monier-Williams 71f.
38. Valle 132 136.
39. Although remarriage is looked down upon, it is not uniformly prohibited in the Dharmashastras—Kane II 611-15. Della Valle tells us that in Ikkeri to his question, whether force was ever employed to

make a widow burn herself, he received the reply that sometimes it was, amongst persons of quality, when there was danger that a young widow might marry again—Valle 136.

40. DI I 253f. ML 23, 274. Cfr. DUP I 226 and Valle 44f.
41. Under the Indian Penal Code as amended in 1924, it is illegal to dispose of girls under 18 years for such a purpose, while the Bombay Devadasis Protection Act, 1924, makes it illegal to dedicate an unmarried woman to temple service—Kane II 904.
42. SR X 291.
43. Santos II 301f.
44. DI II 576; III 726; V 258. SR VII 284.
45. Kane V 632f.
46. Gonçalves IX 7. Santos II 306. Monier-Williams 70f. What our sources tell us about people getting themselves transfixed is corroborated by what della Valle saw in neighbouring Ikkeri, where too there was a beam with hooks on which men sacrificed themselves at certain feasts—Valle 128.
47. Santos II 306.
48. Aquinas 2a. 2ae. 10 11c.
49. DI I 70.
50. Kane II 965.
51. Trindade 950-52. According to the version given by Nilakanta Sastri, the attack on Mylapore was provoked by the Christian policy of overthrowing Hindu temples and by the desire to replenish the royal treasury. Provocation there certainly was. However, Pietro della Valle's observation that Hindu princes of the time were " not wont to suffer in their countries temples of other religions " favours rather the Friar's accuracy—Sastri, *His. of S. India* 280. Valle 111. DI IV 491. This question was discussed a little more in detail in *The Examiner*, 17 Febr. 1962, pp. 77-79. Cfr. DUP I 592.
52. *Bull. App.* I 9f. Cfr. Viceregal decree to that effect ib. 33.
53. SR I 453.
54. DI III 357f; V 165; VI 689. Silva Rego, *Hist.* I 206. *Cartas de D. J. de Castro* 296.
55. EX I 250. DI I 68 744 780; III 576f; V 165.
56. DI I 792f.
57. DI I 188.
58. DI I 68f. 793; II 605. M. Vaz's utterance on this subject will be given in Ch. V.
59. EX II 54. DI VI 708.
60. EX I 27f. *Ceylon zur Zeit* I 4 214. SR III 199f. Vitoria 715-19 (*De Indis, Relectio Prior* nn. 9-15). Suarez, *De Fide*, disp. 18, s. 2, n. 8.
61. SR III 532. DI I 743. Lucena I 143.
62. *Cartas de D. J. de Castro* 317.
63. DI I 328f. Cfr. SR IV 55.
64. DI I 530. Cosme Anes came out to India in 1538, and in 1541 we find him in Goa as Registrar General. From 1547 to 1548 he was Secretary General to the Government. From 1548 to 1550 and again in 1555 he was head of the Treasury Department. In 1560, on feeling the approach of death, he asked to be admitted in St. Paul's. His request was granted and he breathed his last in the midst of the Jesuits—EX I 253 ftn. 10. DI IV 730. Lopes Mendes II 157.

65. DI III 406f 727.
66. Pastor VIII 444f.
67. SR IV 450-53.
68. SR IV 454.
69. SR IV 457; VII 214. The text occurs in Justinian's Code 1.4, t. 6, but is here quoted from the Portuguese translation in *Bull. App.* I 90.
70. SR IV 453.
71. EX I 310. SR IV 65. DI III 158f. Cacegas IV 319.
72. SR V 108.
73. SR I 354.
74. SR I 453.
75. SR I 229.
76. DI I 759-62; VI 701. SR II 143 188 343.
77. SR III 199. EX I 79 136, and also 42f 89.
78. SR IV 455.
79. EX I 173f.
80. Thomas 4.
81. *Lettres Edifiants et Curieuses* VII 493-502, where we read how the French Jesuits who entered the Andhra country towards the end of the 17th century regarded this belief as a divine message foretelling Jesus Christ.
82. DI I 52f 58 134 346 408 420 786f. The question of the number of Christians at this time was discussed in an art. in *Neue Zeitschr.* XVIII Jhrg. (1962) 169.
83. DI I 326 401; II 605. Regarding Loku's motive, N. B. Nayak, while telling us that he hailed from Chorao, advances, without the support of any contemporary testimony, the hypothesis that he had to choose between Christianity and exile—Nayak 30.
84. DI I 325-27 399-401. SR VI 177f. Pissurlencar, *Agentes* 21.
85. DI I 304f 401 408 569; II 469; III 113f 576.
86. DI II 292; III 350 577f.
87. DI III 576.
88. *Subsidios* 48-51.

NOTES TO CH. IV

1. DI I 328.
2. Diego de Couto was born in 1542 at Lisbon, where he received his early education at the hands of the Jesuits. He saw military service in the East from 1556 to 1566, after which he returned to Portugal for his reward. He soon came out again and settled in Goa, where he died in December, 1616. His *Decadas,* composed during this period of retirement, comprise the years 1526-1600. A brief biography of Couto forms the introduction to Dec. IV pt. I of the edition listed in the bibliography.
3. Couto VII 7, 1. On the other hand, the contemporary Jesuit account is quite matter of fact. According to it, the Emperor came upon the city with a force of more than 70,000 and a large number of elephants, but no life was lost. He took back with him 25 hostages

and the supposed relics of St. Thomas. These last, however, he soon restored " apparently because on the way back he repented of what he had done, for his ancestors had held in great veneration that house built by the Apostle himself "—DI IV 368. The date, 1558. accepted by K. A. N. Sastri, therefore, needs rectification—Sastri, *Hist. of S. India* 280.

4. Couto IX 23.
5. A Jesuit letter from Goa described him thus in 1560: " He is a man of inflexible justice, his chastity is unblemished, his zeal for God's honour and his other virtues and actions well become his name "—this last characterisation being an allusion to his name ' Constantino ', which implies constancy—DI IV 718. Cfr. also DI VI 198.
6. Couto, Dec. IV pt. I xviii.
7. Couto IX 20 23. Cfr. also DI VII 640, where we learn of Francisco Barreto's own wish to take Jesuits along.
8. Couto VII 9, 17.
9. Couto VII 10, 1. SR X 280 286 396. Nazareth 52 56-59.
10. DI VI 209 355.
11. Couto VIII 1.
12. Nazareth 40f. Gonçalves II 428.
13. Couto IX 16.
14. DI IV 489; V 194.
15. DI V 742. Given the number of baptisms in the villages in subsequent years, it appears that Quadros spoke rather inaccurately owing to the impression made on him by the sudden increase in the number of Christians. Panjim, for instance, had fewer Christians than Hindus till as late as 1567, and only in that year did the greater part ask to become Christians. In Batim there were 335 baptisms in 1564, 156 in 1566. In Carambolim there were 299 baptisms in 1565, 44 in 1566. On the other hand, a newly arrived Jesuit underestimated the number of Christians when he wrote home, " Here in Goa, where I thought all were already Christians, I believe the Christians are a minority." He may have been speaking under the impression made on him by the city, where there was always a considerable number of foreign merchants—DI IV 645; VI 259 328 367 485 618; VII 65 348 401.
16. DI I 216.
17. DI I 216 327 743f; II 23f.
18. DI IV 70. Cfr. also DI V 167.
19. DI VI 194.
20. DI III 778-83; IV 378-81 416.
21. Cfr. DI VI 676-714.
22. DI IV 466.
23. Cfr. Gonçalves on M. Carneiro, II 293-95; on G. da Silveira, II 412-18. Also Souza on M. N. Barreto, II, 1, 1, 41-44; on A. de Quadros, ib. 48-56; on F. Rodriguez, ib. 57-58.
24. DI IV 475f.
25. DI IV 502.
26. DI IV 389f 503.
27. DI IV 375f 414 445 476 503.

28. DI IV 376-81 397 415f 455f 503f.
29. DI IV 397f 416 456 475 504f.
30. DI IV 382 401 419 456 471 507.
31. DI IV 381 398 416-18 451 468; VI 650f 745f.
32. Souza I, 1, 2, 23.
33. In *A India Port.* II 223f.
34. E.g., Sanvardekar I 76-91. Nayak 33-40. And here is what Priolkar says of this essay: " Dr. Antonio de Noronha, a former Judge of the High Court of Goa, in his essay ' The Hindus of Goa and the Portuguese Republic ', which is based on a careful study of contemporary record. . . ."—*The Goa Inq.* I 54.
35. DI III 718f; IV 200. Valignano 345. Gonçalves II 323f.
36. DI III 719; IV 200-02. SR VII 215-17. Valignano 345f. Gonçalves II 324f. Souza I, 1, 2, 23-27—Gonçalves is inexact when he says that already the law of 1557 provided for taking custody of an orphan below the age of reason and baptising it straightaway, while one above the age of reason was to be placed in charge of Christian tutors until it reached the age of majority. Souza followed Gonçalves, while adding the yet further inaccuracy that this law provided for taking away a fatherless orphan under fourteen from the mother. Both these authors have, in fact, given the law as recast some years later.
37. When the influential Jesuit, Luis Gonçalves da Camara, learnt at Lisbon in December, 1557, that Constantino de Bragança had been designated Viceroy, he described him to his Roman Superior as " one whom we know and regard as a servant God "—DI IV x ftn. 8. Cfr. also DI IV 176.
38. DI IV 258. The memorandum of 1561 seems here to put together the action taken by the Court in 1558 and 1559, when it says that the Court approved previous laws and passed new ones before Constantino de Bragança set out—DI V 167.
39. DI IV 342 ftn. 54. Cfr. Underhill 44.
40. SR VII 284f; X 305f. Cfr. DI IV 366.
41. SR VII 273f.
42. SR VII 267-69.
43. SR VII 278f.
44. DI IV 289. Couto VII 8, 2. SR VII 286.
45. SR VIII 9f. DI IV 368.
46. SR VIII 40-42. DI IV 313.
47. Our source says that the scholar lived ' on the mainland, the other side ', an expression that may mean Bardes or Salsette, or the Bijapur side. It is Souza who tells us that it was the Bijapur side, and our source itself suggests this by implying that the men incurred considerable risk—DI IV 309f 335 669f.
48. Souza I, 1, 2, 43.
49. DI V 191. For ideas of the time on the permissibility of spoliation in a just war cfr. Aquinas 2a 2ae 66, 8, 1.
50. DI IV 336f 650f 825; V 168. SR VIII 28f. Valignano 376. Gonçalves II 353f; X 7. Souza I, 1, 2, 39. The annual letter of November, 1560, which is followed by Valignano, speaks of 40 persons being given 40 days to leave the island. But another letter of December, 1560, from the same pen speaks of 30, and this figure agrees with the available text of the decree itself.

51. SR VIII 39. Gonçalves II 353. Souza I, 1, 2, 39. BIVG (62) 126.
52. SR IX 615. DI IV 312f. Gonçalves II 351.
53. SR IX 615f.
54. SR IX 44f.
55. SR IX 51f. DI VI 702.
56. DI VI 12-14 122f. Gonçalves IX 27.
57. SR IX 311.
58. SR IX 340.
59. SR IX 437f.
60. DI VI 1.4.
61. The contemporary account speaks only of the protest of Portuguese officials. Valignano adds that Hindu leaders, too, in a body threatened to leave. Gonçalves further elaborates by saying that farmers of revenue actually went to the Governor protesting that, as business was at a standstill, they were unable to honour their contracts and that it was better for them to leave rather than remain and be insulted—Valignano 376. Gonçalves II 326f.
62. DI III 719; IV 334 489 687; V 152 742.
63. DI IV 318 489f; VI 402f 704. SR IX 615. Valignano 370. Here Gonçalves gives us a historical reconstruction which cannot all be unreservedly accepted. For he says that it was the 30 who were later banished by the decree of April, 1560, who persuaded merchants to close down business and farmers to destroy dykes. This is not improbable, but contemporary accounts speak of no such concerted attempt at creating difficulties. They rather suggest that some departed for not wanting to become Christians, while others did so as a protest at being denied their traditional position in society—Gonçalves II 351f. DI IV 312 330 490.
64. DI V 67 152.
65. Couto VII 9, 17. DI IV 416; VI 198 703. For the frequency with which dissatisfied officials sent home unfavourable reports about viceroys, who in their turn were therefore unwilling to displease officials, we have about the year 1569 the testimony of the Archbishop of Goa. Cfr. Wicki, ' Duas relaçoes ' 185 188 191.
66. DI V 222 396 657. Valignano 432f.
67. DI V 397.
68. DI V 222; VI 90f.
69. DI VI 194 217.
70. DI VI 302f.
71. DI VI 401-03.
72. DI VI 402 702.
73. SR V 287-96.
74. DI IV 489.
75. DI IV 491.
76. DI IV 489.
77. DI IV 368.
78. DI IV 489f 492; VI 704.
79. DI IV 769f 818; V 67.
80. DI V 227 272f 485 657f 741f; VI 114-28 614-23.
81. DI V 227.
82. DI V 230.
83. DI V 485.

84. DI II vii; III 19 404 713 788; IV 181 302 506 864; V 193-202. Heredia's report is undated, but a contemporary hand has added, ' about (15)62 or (15)63 '. Contrary to this, Wicki suggests that it was written in the autumn of 1561. However, the way Heredia speaks of " we who are outside " the Order and " those inside " sufficiently indicates that it was written after the author's dismissal—DI V 192f 197.
85. DI IV 382 400 419 457 471 506.
86. DI IV 772 777.
87. DI V 193f.
88. DI V 194.
89. DI V 194-96.
90. DI IV 657.
91. DI IV 658f.
92. DI V 131f 135 139f 142 144 191 280f.
93. Writing in 1923 Menezes Bragança included Torres among the Jesuits due to whose influence at Court Viceroy Francisco Coutinho's wish to mitigate or not to give effect to some of the laws was frustrated. However, now that the confidential letters sent from Portugal to the head of the Order have been published, it is clear that Torres was critical of the Goa Jesuits. Menezes Bragança went by inference, for Torres was in fact influential at Court. But that only shows how risky it is to take for granted even seemingly legitimate inferences—*A India Portuguesa* II 66.
94. DI IV 644-94.
95. DI V 151f.
96. Couto VII 6, 3; 8, 1 13. DI IV 734f 827f. *Litt. Quadr.* VII 570.
97. *Mon. Ign.* I, 1, 196.
98. *Epist. P. Nadal* I 248; II 3 7 11 77.
99. DI V 517.
100. *Epist. P. Nadal* I 535; III 360.
101. CSEL 34, 461-63.
102. DI III 270 309 378 405. Valignano 314.
103. DI V 159.
104. *Constitutiones* X 3.
105. *Constitutiones* IV 16 1A.
106. DI V 485. The omitted passages speak of the differences between Archbishop Gaspar and the Jesuits and of Quadros's aptitude for government.
107. DI IV 802.
108. DI IV 805.
109. DI IV 801-09; VI 431. Gonçalves II 356f.
110. DI V 169.
111. Cfr. n. 84 regarding the date of Heredia's report.
112. EX II 8 443. DI I 513 745f; III 308; IV 393-96 857; V 243. A qualification is, however, necessary with regard to Xavier. For though it is true that his words, " no way can be seen how our Society can be perpetuated through native Indians of the land," were understood in Rome in the sense that he absolutely excluded Indians, he does not seem to have meant exactly that. For, a little earlier in the same letter, he says that if the Superior of St. Paul's is a harsh man " many will leave the Society and few will enter it, whether Indians or others "—EX II 7.

113. DI IV 131f.
114. King Sebastian and the Regent Queen Catherine.
115. DI V 654f. Cfr. Valignano 376 ftn. 16, where we find Polanco expressly saying that the matter is being carefully considered.
116. DI V 63f.
117. These were respectively the patrons of these villages.
118. DI V 64.
119. ML 77, 694f.
120. DI V 65f. The thought of Aquinas on this subject was explained in Ch. III.
121. DI I 97.
122. DI V 66f.
123. DI V 67.
124. Cfr. Kane II 389-91.
125. DI V 554f.
126. DI V 520.
127. Nazareth 46. DI V 650.
128. DI V 510.
129. DI V 512f.
130. SR IX 41f.
131. DI V 272f 276 604f.
132. DI V 654f. 657 695.
133. There are descriptions of solemn baptisms in the annual letters of 1557-60—DI III 721-23; IV 209-11 322-24 666-68.
134. DI V 12f.
135. DI V 60.
136. DI V 122.
137. DI VI 43 71 122-24. Valignano 434f.
138. DI V 567 657.
139. ' de buena tinta '—DI V 650.
140. DI VI 75f.
141. DI VI 123f. SR IX 175-77.
142. DI VI 445f.
143. The text in the *Bullarium* has " cupientes negotium conversionis gentilium quam maxime lugeri."
144. *Bull.* I 217. Incidentally, K. M. Panikkar in referring to similar documents of Nicholas V (1447-55), Calixtus III (1455-58), and Alexander VI (1492-1503) altogether neglects to consider how far the peoples of Asia possessed at the time a national consciousness which was ready to accept the consequences of universal human brotherhood —Panikkar 30-32 380.

NOTES TO CH. V

1. Kane III 256 396.
2. Vacandard 44f 77-79.
3. SR IX 51f.
4. DI IV 202-05—For Divali celebrations cfr. Underhill 59-63. Bali was believed to have been a powerful king who vexed the gods and was

thrust into hell by god Vishnu. Lakshmi or Shri, the goddess of prosperity, is worshipped during Divali; merchants close their year's accounts and commence fresh ones in her name. Houses are illumined during this feast, and hence the name Divali or Dipavali, meaning, a row of lights.

5. DI IV 308f 312f 328-30.
6. DI IV 329.
7. DI IV 311f.
8. DI IV 307f.
9. This was precisely the centre of the controversy around de Nobili early in the XVII century. In Goa it was held that these usages have a religious significance. De Nobili quoted texts from the Dharmashastras and appealed to the testimony of his neophytes. The texts he quoted were correct as appears from Kane's *History of Dharmasastra*. But there is also a prescription in the Dharmashastras that whatever religious act a man does without his thread and without arranging his hair tuft would be inefficacious. De Nobili was not unaware of this passage, but explained it away as a misconception—Nobili 99-101 119. Kane II 264 291-93.
10. DI IV 668-74 678f.
11. DI IV 657-64.
12. DI VI 402.
13. DI VI 256f.
14. DI VI 368.
15. DI VI 702.
16. The chapel of Nossa Senhora de Monte stood on a hill, in the eastern part of the city, commanding a fine view of Old Goa and the surrounding region. "This hill is frequently mentioned by the first Portuguese historians, since there the Musalmans had placed some pieces of ordinance which made terrible execution among the forces of Albuquerque when he captured Goa. The chapel was erected soon after the conquest and is mentioned by Gaspar Correia"—Fonseca 256.
17. DI VI 257f. Cfr. ib. 281f.
18. DI VII 402f.
19. DI IV 206f.
20. DI III 721 723; IV 656 673; VI 611f.
21. Diego Pereira himself bore the cost of the projected embassy. One of Xavier's dying letters from Sancian was to him, saying, "I do not know what to write to Your Honour, except acknowledge how greatly I am indebted to you for the great friendship, alms, and charity I have received from you"—EX II 514. Cfr. ib. 361. Valignano 193.
22. DI III 721f. Cfr. Valignano 347-49. Gonçalves II 327f. Souza I, 1, 2, 16.
23. DI IV 653.
24. DI IV 654f.
25. DI III 710.
26. DI IV 405.
27. Kane V 236-41. Underhill 44-47. DI IV 342 ftn. 54. Shri Sahasrabuddhe in *Manohar*, June 1962, 72-75.

28. DI IV 342f. There is a seeming discrepancy in our sources here. For, while this letter tells us that this happened ' very often ', the memorial of 1561, probably referring to the total number, avers that only ' a few were brought in this way '—DI V 168f.
29. *Bull. App.* I 47.
30. Valignano 378f. *Bull. App.* I 70.
31. DI VI 702.
32. *Bull. App.* I 8 32f 64. SR XII 728.
33. DI VI 702. *Bull. App.* I 9 66. Valle 91f 218.
34. SR IX 615; X 98. DI II 292; IV 312f; VI 117.
35. DI IV 826.
36. DI IV 794f. Cfr. Souza I, 1, 2, 52f.
37. Nayak 30.
38. DI IV 649; VII 302 666f. Gonçalves IX 11.
39. Gonçalves I 90.
40. Valle 132.
41. Valle 146.
42. Kane II 7.
43. Suarez, *De Legibus* II 19, 9. Cfr. Vitoria 705-15.
44. *Bull. App.* I 7f.
45. *Bull. App.* I 68.
46. Konkani.
47. *Bull. App.* I 6.
48. Nobili 63. Bertrand II 297.
49. Parangis or Feringhis was the name given in India in the sixteenth century to Europeans, and, according to de Nobili, they were regarded as people incapable of any culture because they were seen to disregard caste rules and Indian etiquette—Nobili 158-71.
50. De Nobili himself explained that he was called Aiyer by his disciples, because he was the head of his community—Nobili 69.
51. Cronin 152. Cfr. Nobili 74 86.
52. Nobili 177f.
53. Shastri, *Hist. of S. India* 309.
54. Shukla 35.
55. Kane II 789.
56. DI VI 124 700.
57. DI I 68 70f. Priolkar quotes, indeed, Vaz's complaint that some from among the upper classes hindered people from becoming Christians; but in quoting the petition against Hindu worship, he omits altogether the people's complaint against Krishna and Gopu. Much less does he examine whether there was any foundation for it—Priolkar, *The Goa Inq.* I 74.
58. ' The India-Letters ' 248.
59. Priolkar, *The Goa Inq.* I 116.
60. DI IV 734.
61. SR IX 195-98.
62. Priolkar, *The Goa Inq.* I 117. DI VI 123f.
63. DI VI 700 704f. SR X 107.
64. DI IV 213. Cfr. ib. 327.
65. *Bull. App.* I 11.
66. SR II 179 329f. DI I 85 102; V 742.
67. *Cambr. Sh. Hist.* 390.

68. Gonçalves II 357f. Souza, apparently unaware of the gradual evolution of the law, takes it for granted that already from 1557 orphans were baptised before waiting for them to some of the age of reason —Souza I, 1, 2, 24.
69. For points of contact between this and Roman law cfr. Leage-Ziegler 90-99 108-110.
70. Souza I, 1, 2, 25. Silva Rego, *Hist.* I. 188.
71. *Bull. App.* I 9.
72. *Bull. App.* I 33.
73. Suarez, *Comment. in S. Th. III* 68 10, disp. XXV s. 3 n. 10.
74. Suarez, l.c., n. 8.
75. Suarez, l.c., s. 3 n.9; s. 4 nn. 3 5. Gonçalves II 358. Souza I, 1, 2, 25.
76. Whiteway 66 ftn. 2.
77. Priolkar, *The Goa Inq.* I 15.
78. *Bull. App.* I 47. The last part of the decree says that the Judge of Orphans should entrust the orphans to Christian guardians, or, if they were sucklings, to Christian nurses, who were to be paid out of the property of the orphans or of their mothers or in some other way to be decided by the King.
79. Nazareth 111. *Bull. App.* I 144f. Paulo da Trindade says that Archbishop Menezes forbade fatherless orphans to be taken away from their mothers and that it was the Franciscans who, at the Provincial Council of 1606, secured a return to the former position. But the Archbishop's decree of 1680 as given by Nazareth does not support this—Trindade 329-33.
80. Souza I, 1, 2, 27.
81. Regarding a Hindu child who, being ' old enough to form an intelligent preference ', accepts another faith, Indian courts at first held that the child should be allowed to exercise its own discretion as to where it will go. Later, however, it has been held that the parents are entitled to the custody of the child irrespective of its wishes—Mulla 683.
82. Souza I, 1, 2, 24-27. Cfr. Mulla 682f 1030-32.
83. DI IV 320f 367f. Cacegas-Sousa IV 319.
84. Some think that the institution was started in the Conqueror's lifetime. Silva Rego, however, shows that there are no convincing arguments for this view—Silva Rego, *Hist.* I 237-40.
85. Boxer 217.
86. DI IV 664f.
87. DI VI 687 700. SR IX 175. Priolkar, *The Goa Inq.* I. 137f. *Bull. App.* I 13.
88. Mansi XXII 1058. ' Decret. Greg. IX ', l. 5 t. 6 c. 16.
89. ' Decret. Greg. IX ', l.c., c. 18. Suarez, *De Fide,* disp. XVIII nn. 12 13.
90. DI VI 700. SR XI 71; XII 752f.
91. DI II 577; IV 50; V 608 611.
92. SR X 213.
93. DI I 71.
94. DI IV 661; VII 63f.
95. SR XII 252-55.
96. SR XII 271f.
97. SR XII 750f. *Bull App.* I 117.

98. DI I 106; IV 645-47; V 64 258; VI 639. Valignano 352.
99. *Bull. App.* I 7 32 113. Gonçalves X 7.
100. Suarez, *De Fide*, disp. XVIII s. 2 nn. 3 4.
101. DI VII 249 270 498 ftn. 4.
102. DI VII 191.
103. DI V 196. Manuel Nunez, too, made a similar complaint. But whereas Heredia spoke of just one shop, Nunez stated that the majority of those who became Christians escaped to the Bijapur side and sold the dresses given them at baptism. Both mention swords among the articles thus sold, though we have no indication anywhere that such a thing used to be widely given. They might have been alluding to the 3000 Christians whom Governor Barreto organised into military companies in 1557.—DI III 724; IV 490.
104. DI VII 579.

NOTES TO CH. VI

1. SR V 108.
2. DI IV 492.
3. DI V 195.
4. Kidd II 34.
5. SR IV 454. DI I 763.
6. SR I 354.
7. DI I 182f. Priolkar selects precisely this passage to prove that people did not become Christians from a religious motive. But he omits the introductory sentence, " The people of this land are very evil and almost devoid of reason." If Lancillotto's judgment regarding the Christians is reliable, why distrust his judgment regarding the people as a whole?—Priolkar, *The Goa Inq.* I 55f.
8. DI III 232.
9. DI I 343.
10. DI I 761.
11. ' De Catechizandis Rudibus ', ML 40 316. A decree of the first Provincial Council expressed the same idea in almost identical terms —Cfr. *Bull. App.* I 14.
12. DI II 449f.
13. DI III 34.
14. DI IV 490.
15. DI II 352f; III 350 723; IV 813; V 63f.
16. DI IV 171f 320. *Bull. App.* I 119f.
17. DI III 723.
18. DI IV 673.
19. DI IV 656.
20. DI IV 663; VI 611f.
21. SR XII 593f.
22. DI I 775f 779f. Cfr. Gonçalves I 122.
23. DI I 781.
24. SR III 521. *Subsidios* 70.
25. SR IV 174f.
26. DI III 350f.
27. DI III 383.
28. DI III 720. Valignano 347. Souza I, 1, 2, 28. Cfr. DI VI 624.

29. SR XII 641.
30. DI I 126.
31. DI II 508 607; III 67 92f 465.
32. DI I 494. EX I 62 ftn. 17. Valignano 185 418. Souza I, 1, 1, 59.
33. DI II 507.
34. IV 381.
35. DI IV 505.
36. DI II 507-09; III 576; IV 748 750 792. Souza I, 1, 1, 59.
37. DI II 507f.
38. SS. Cosmas and Damian, patrons of the medical profession.
39. DI IV 747f.
40. DI II 509. Cfr. Souza I, 1, 1, 59.
41. DI IV 748f. Cfr. DI VI 120.
42. DI VI 120.
43. Gonçalves speaks of Bijapur forces entering Rachol and destroying the church, but Souza clearly says that the church destroyed was that of Margao. Gonçalves may be speaking of Rachol in a broad sense as the way by which the Muslims entered—Gonçalves IX 16. Souza II, 1, 2, 29.
44. DI V 608f.
45. DI I 73.
46. DI IV 276.
47. Usage shortened it to *Sala*, which is the form in which it occurs in our documents—Cfr. DI II 485; IV 185 276; VI 354. *Bhangasala* secondarily means a storehouse, and we find the term applied in the early XVII century to the grain depot a little to the east of where the galleys were moored. Next to the grain depot was the powder magazine—Santos II 272f. Fonseca 191f.
48. DI II 265 597.
49. DI II 485.
50. DI IV 275f.
51. DI VI 609.
52. DI II 485; IV 276; VI 354 611.
53. DI V 604.
54. DI III 576-78; IV 213f.
55. DI IV 207f 365f 654.
56. Couto VI 8, 1; X 6. Wicki's seeming affirmation that Barreto came out in 1548 as Captain of Bassein is not accurate, since Barreto was appointed to that post only in 1549—DI I 406 ftn. 1.
57. *Subsidios* 44.
58. SR VII 226.
59. SR VII 275f.
60. *Bull. App.* I 10. For an analogous canonical provision of the time, cfr. ' Decret. Grat.', dist. 54 c. 15.
61. SR VII 271.
62. Cfr. *Cambr. Sh. Hist.* 390. Sastri, *Hist. of India* II 152.
63. Didascalia II 25. *Bull.* I 39 115f.
64. SR X 693f.
65. SR X 616f.
66. DI I 72-74. SR XI 63. Priolkar includes this exemption of 1570 in his chapter, ' Anti-Hindu Laws in Goa ', whereas it was really exemption from a burden which weighed only on Christians—Priolkar, *The Goa Inq.* I 141.

67. SR XII 594. The pecuniary penalties were fixed and given the force of state law by Viceroy Noronha in 1567 at the request of the first Provincial Council—*Bull. App.* I 34.
68. DI I 71f. APO V 171-73 175-77.
69. SR IV 175.
70. SR VII 264f 287. Cfr. Priolkar, *The Goa Inq.* I 141f, where, however, the clause regarding the examination of intending Christians is omitted.
71. SR VII 280-82; XII 834-37. Cfr. DI III 719, where the annual letter of 1557 mentions Barreto's decree enabling Christians to inherit from their Hindu relations. The way Priolkar deals with this complicated law provides another instance of his inadequacy; for he permits himself to say that the law disinherited children who did not become Christians. "There is," he writes, "a decree of March 26(?), 1559, of D. Sebastiao which provides that sons, grandsons, and other relatives of a Hindu individual will inherit his estate on his death only if they became Christians."—Priolkar, *The Goa Inq.* I 142.
72. SR IX 47f.
73. SR IX 352f.
74. *Bull. App.* I 9 33.
75. *Bull. App.* I 11.
76. Natarajan 194.
77. *Bull. App.* I 49 67 91 116.
78. Natarajan 149f.
79. Priolkar, *The Goa Inq.* I 141-43. Cfr. *Cambr. Sh. Hist.* 390. Sastri, *Hist. of India* II 152.
80. Mulla 77 606 798 801 940-1001. Natarajan 124 193 where, however, the date of the Hindu Marriage Act is mistakenly given as 1956.
81. Sanvardekar, IV 7.

NOTES TO CH. VII

1. DI V 64. Cfr. IV 687.
2. DI IV 796; V 359. Santos II 97f.
3. DI V 274. Cfr. VI 102 313.
4. DI III 307. Cfr. EX I 126.
5. DI III 728. The Hindus of Goa still resort occasionally to the Mother of Jesus in times of stress, and it has been suggested that this is because the churches occupy sites of former temples. If this were to be applied to the 16th century, it could be accepted as a sufficient explanation only by assuming that there was no genuine movement towards Christianity. Cfr. Kosambi 158.
6. DI IV 794. Schmidlin observes that "the inhabitants were won over through children and song," but shows no awareness of what they sang. He also inaccurately suggests that the practice of making children sing was commenced after the expulsion, in 1560, of the 30 or 40 families—Schmidlin 242.
7. Indian historians call him Abdullah and say that he was the brother of the reigning monarch, Ibrahim Adil Shah (1535-57). However, Couto, who got his information from Meale himself, says that he was Ibrahim's step-uncle—Couto V 9, 8 9. Pissurlencar, *Agentes* 9. Sastri, *Hist. of Ind.* II 117f.

8. DI III 734.
9. On one occasion M. K. Gandhi said: " Have you read what I have written on my son's so-called conversion to Islam? If he had become a Muslim from a pure and a contrite heart, I should have had no quarrel with him. But those who have helped him to embrace Islam and are enthusing over his apostasy simply exploited his weakness "—Gandhi 199.—It is therefore necessary to point out that Christian joy on such occasions has nothing to do with a sense of triumph over anyone, no more than the custom of ringing church bells when the child of a Christian family is baptised. It is but joy at the thought that there is now one more sharer in Christ's universal gift of divine fellowship to mankind.
10. DI III 734-46. Gonçalves II 332-34. Cfr. Valignano 349-52. Souza I, 1, 2, 19-22.
11. DI IV 799.
12. DI VI 620f.
13. DI III 724f; IV 795f; VI 621; VII 404. *Bull. App.* I 115.
14. DI I 17 32; III 725f; IV 367 688; VI 125; VII 67.
15. We hear no more of the Confraternity of Holy Faith after St. Paul's was made over to the Jesuits in 1548. For details of the transaction cfr. *Neue Zeitschrift* XVIII Jhrg. (1962) 171-73.
16. DI IV 754.
17. *Bull. App.* I 11.
18. For the early existence of the church of Divar cfr. Gaspar Correa II 459. This supports the general accuracy of the Jesuit letter of 1560 which says, " It is held that the church of Our Lady on this island was the first to be built in India by Afonso d'Albuquerque."—DI IV 678.
19. The year 1541 seems to be the clearest date of reference for these early chapels; for all of them except Rozario are mentioned by Castello Branco in the grant by which he allotted for their upkeep part of the 2000 tangas brancas agreed to that year by the villagers. From certain indications in Gaspar Correa, Nazareth holds that Luz and Rozario go back to Afonso d'Albuquerque. Schurhammer, too, dates Rozario back to 1511. But Souza says that Rozario was certainly not there before 1526. It existed, however, in 1544, since it is mentioned among the city parishes created that year. Did Rozario already exist at the time of Xavier's arrival in 1542? Teixeira, indeed, says that Xavier on his arrival taught catechism at Rozario. But Xavier himself says that he did this in " a chapel of Our Lady, next to the hospital ". The royal hospital of which he speaks was not quite so close to the Rozario we know—DI I 41 304 767-69; VI 516. EX I 126 ftn. 21, 140 ftn. 2. SR IV 56. Nazareth 21 24. Souza II, 1, 2, 49. Couto V 10, 11.
20. DI II 292; IV 340 368 666 826; VI 516. Santos II 97f. SR VII 403-07.
21. DI IV 344f. Cfr. ib. 755.
22. DI I 86.
23. DI IV 324-26. Regarding the dream itself, the contemporary account omits all description of it, saying: " I abstain from describing it here to avoid being diffuse." Souza says that the Mother of Jesus appeared to him and petitioned the Child in her arms to receive the man among his own. The Child assented and the Mother there-

upon asked the man to receive baptism. This may be a devout tradition which Souza found to hand—Souza I, 1, 2, 49.

24. DI IV 213 327.
25. SR II 343. DI IV 666 689 703.
26. DI VI 370; VII 67.
27. DI III 185f. Cfr. DI IV 172 207.
28. DI IV 688 692f.
29. DI V 277f; VI 368 621.
30. DI III 725; IV 674 688; V 257f; VI 329.
31. DI III 370; IV 341f 429; VI 620.
32. DI IV 337f. Cfr. Souza I, 1, 2, 42.
33. CSEL 3, 1, 5f.
34. Ricci 435-37.
35. Kosambi 160.

NOTES TO CH. VIII

1. SR I 178.
2. SR II 192f.
3. DI I 767. Cfr. ' The India-Letters ' 241.
4. DI I 761.
5. EX I 126; II 220. Gonçalves I 116. DI I 13 29f 55f 58.
6. DI I 13f 31f.
7. DI I 743. Sardinha was in 1551 consecrated first Bishop of Brasil, took possession of his See of S. Salvador or Bahia in 1552, but met his death at the hands of the natives in 1556—for a bibliography on him cfr. EX I 469 ftn. 10.
8. DI III 114; IV 166-73 222. Cfr. ib. VII 56f.
9. DI VI 122. Cfr. ib. 618; VII 57 576 579. On the basis of a remark of Pedro de d'Almeida's in 1558, Wicki suggests that Catarina de Farao was already then in charge of the catechumenate. What Almeida, however, actually says is that she lived at the time in a non-Christian quarter of the city and did her best to persuade people to become Christians. Earlier, in 1555, we are informed that women catechumens were under " an old woman who is in charge of nursing patients in this hospital "—DI III 350; IV 207f; VII 57 ftn. 72.
10. DI IV 645f 796; V 273f; VI 114; VII 57 61.
11. DI IV 646f. Cfr. ib. V 610; VI 360 619f; VII 61.
12. DI III 514. Wicki surmises that this Indian was associated with the printing at Lisbon in 1554 of a Tamil catechism in Roman characters, this being the first book to be printed in an Indian language—Wicki, *IV Centenario* 4f. Cfr. Estevao-Saldanha 7.
13. DI III 711. Cfr. Estevao-Saldanha 3-5.
14. DI V 273. Cfr. Estevao-Saldanha 7f.
15. DI IV 309. Cfr. ib. III 350.
16. DI VI 119.
17. DI IV 674 866. Cfr. ib. 599.
18. DI IV 222 334 369 687 826; V 276 604; VI 122 363-67 614-19; VII 66 431.
19. DI IV 826.

20. DI VI 114-16 365-67; VII 57-65.
21. DI II 468f; III 575; IV 292; VI 103 608; VII 49 382.
22. DI VII 575.
23. DI II 469; IV 292 732; V 582-84 595; VI 103 363 608f; VII 49 189 575. EX I 440. Gonçalves I 119.
24. DI III 726.
25. Besides the Catechism proper, Xavier composed a Declaration of Faith as well as a Rule of Life. The Declaration was composed in 1546 and mainly set forth the biblical teaching on God's original plan for man and how it was spoilt by sin and restored through Jesus Christ. The Rule of Life already existed by 1548 and was meant as a daily training in Christian life by showing how to draw inspiration from the truths of the Faith in fulfilling one's moral obligations. In 1565 an unsuccessful attempt was made to replace Xavier with the Valentian Jesuit, Pedro Parra, whose catechism was modelled on that of his home place and followed the dialogue method. But in 1566 and 1567 there arrived successively from Portugal the catechisms of the Jesuit Marcos Jorge and the Archbishop of Braga Bartolomeu dos Martyres. The former, too, followed the dialogue method and was adopted by the Jesuits. A Konkani catechism by the English Jesuit, Thomas Stephens, was printed at Rachol in 1622—EX I 348-67 441-57. DI III 711; IV 335; VI 609 613f; VII 49 56 385. Gonçalves I 115 477. Souza I, 1, 1, 23. Cfr. Estevao-Saldanha 10f.
26. EX I 106-16. Cfr. Gonçalves I 115f. *Bull App.* I 16. SR X 606-12.
27. DI IV 166-72 335 596f 806f.
28. DI V 596; VI 118.
29. DI VI 702. Cfr. *Bull. App.* I 9.
30. DI VI 119.
31. DI IV 797.
32. DI IV 832.
33. DI III 577; IV 173 183f; VI 120. Cfr. *Hist. Univ. des Miss. . . . Origines* 247 261. *Bull. App.* I 15f.
34. DI VII 404.
35. DI IV 184.
36. DI VII 405. The interpretation put upon such conduct will, of course, depend upon one's view of the traditional social categories. Thus, Priolkar referring to this very incident says, "There were cases where Brahmins embraced Christianity so that they could marry women of lower castes."—Priolkar, *The Goa Inq.* I 56.
37. DI VI 118 622; VII 403. According to the Dharmashastras, contact with persons permanently afflicted with a disease pollutes one; so does contact with the dead or consorting with relatives of the dead during the period of ritual impurity—Kane IV 214-16 268f 274 289. For the practice of burial among Hindus, cfr. ib. 231f.
38. DI IV 312; V 275 610; VI 118f; VII 69. One would, of course, hesitate to see miraculous intervention in these instances. But it is interesting to observe that even the critical de Nobili recounts the following analogous happenings in his infant community of Madurai. On one occasion, a catechumen was instantly cured of a grave illness by making the sign of the cross and reciting some prayers. Another time, a Christian whose wife was still a Hindu exhorted her to have recourse to God in her illness and himself prayed earnestly on her behalf; she was cured that very night. Again, at the beginning of

the Tamil year people celebrate the Pongal festival, at which rice is boiled in fresh milk, delay in boiling being regarded as a bad augury. De Nobili permitted his flock to boil rice at the foot of a Cross. One woman forgot to set up a Cross and the rice would not boil till she had made good the omission. On the other hand, a man whose rice had not boiled for three successive years before he became a Christian now to his joy saw it boiling on setting up a Cross. After recounting these anecdotes to his Provincial, de Nobili goes on: " I well realise that Your Reverence will say that all this is fancy and is not to be made much account of. But since Your Reverence requires me to write everything to you, I do it all the more readily because among these new Christians and in this land everything is of importance and worthy of consideration. For through such things their faith is strengthened, and they take courage and thereby prepare themselves for any possible future opposition, which will certainly not be lacking."—Bertrand's text is an interpretative rendering. Cfr. Bertrand II 29f. For Pongal cfr. Underhill 40.

39. DI IV 797; V 550 611f; VI 119 370; VII 403f.
40. DI VI 253.
41. DI IV 796-98; V 359. Priolkar has missed these first pictures to be printed in India. Cfr. Priolkar, *The Print. Press* 7-9.
42. DI IV 797; V 275. SR VII 407. *Bull. App.* I 20.
43. DI II 473; IV 197 283.
44. *Bull. App.* I 127.
45. Valle 208f.
46. DI II 473; III 568 707; IV 197 282f; V 255.
47. DI VI 497.
48. Wicki, ' Auszüge ' n. 16.
49. DI VI 498.
50. Wicki, ' Auszüge ' n. 16.
51. DI IV 189 197 210 284; VI 113.
52. DI IV 210. *Bull. App.* I 51f 81f 127.
53. *Bull. App.* I 103.
54. DI IV 596-600. Cfr. Gonçalves IX 2.
55. SR X 499.
56. DI IV 797; V 274-76 550f; VI 116-18.
57. DI VI 111.
58. DI III 577; V 274f; VI 501 601; VII 44 58f 73 391. *Bull. App.* I 7.
59. DI I 120f 129; III 486 791.
60. DI IV 192f 214.
61. Gonçalves I 130. Cfr. Wicki, ' Der einh. Klerus in Ind.' 21-31.

NOTES TO THE EPILOGUE

1. Panikkar 385.
2. Priolkar, *The Goa Inq.* I ix.
3. Dodd 28.
4. Khalap 53.
5. Guerreiro, *Relaçao* 1606-07, III 2 (2nd ed., II 358).
6. Cfr. B. D. Satoskar in *Manohar* (Oct. 1962) 96.

NOTES TO THE APPENDIX

1. E.g. Panikkar 381. Priolkar, *The Print. Press* 13. Wicki, Port. Imp. 114f.
2. Kane II 358f.
3. The Roman judge who tried Cyprian of Carthage, for instance, characterised his refusal to conform to Roman religion as a sacrilege and Christianity itself as a baneful conspiracy—*Ench. Font. Hist. Eccl.* n. 304.
4. The violent Donatists were called Circumcellions and got their name from their ' going about ' cottages of farmers committing outrages.
5. CSEL 1, 103 209-11. ML 16, 1046.
6. Vacandard 44f 77-79. Gonçalves II 317.
7. Kane III 254. As regards Roman use of torture, we have an example of it at the commencement of the Donatist troubles in CSEL 26, 202f.
8. Quoted in Vacandard 170. Cfr. Mansi 15, 428f.
9. Quoted in Vacandard 108. Cfr. Mansi 23, 573.
10. Kane III 256.
11. Vacandard 78f.
12. Gokhale 97.
13. Panikkar 385. The first *auto-da-fé*, by the way, took place in 1562, and not in 1563.
14. DI IV 285f.
15. Pastor X 371f; XII 45-47. Gonçalves in describing the origin of the Portuguese Inquisition does not seem to have been aware of the differences between the King and the Popes—Gonçalves II 317f.
16. SR II 338f.
17. EX I 346f. DI III 357 407f; IV 2 229f.
18. DI III 407f. This point is missed by Valignano and Gonçalves, who both ascribe the establishment of the Inquisition at Goa to the discovery in 1557 at Cochin of writings against Christian belief—Valignano 342-44. Gonçalves II 319f. DI III 758 761. Baiao, too, is inaccurate in thinking that the Inquisition was not sent out in 1554 or 1555—Baiao I 27.
19. DI IV 819.
20. DI V 599. According to Gaspar Correa, one person was burnt at an *auto-da-fé* in 1543 even though the Inquisition had not yet been established, and Bishop Albuquerque preached. Cfr. Baiao I 26. On 23 Dec., 1562, the Inquisitors wrote to the Court that they were sending some prisoners to Lisbon, two Armenians among them. Baiao conjectures that they figured at these *autos* of 1562. But the decree establishing the Inquisition expressly says that only those are to be sent to Portugal who for some serious reason cannot be dealt with in India.—ib. I 32 43 264.
21. DI V 607f.
22. DI VI 113.
23. DI VI 357f. Priolkar's list shows only one *auto* for 1564.
24. DI VI 611.
25. DI VII 54. Priolkar's list shows two *autos-da-fé for* 1566.

26. DI VII 384. The Jesuit sources, which show 7 *autos* for the years 1560-67, are thus closer to the Inquisitor's affirmation in 1572 that there had been 11 *autos* in the years 1562-72; whereas the list accepted by Baiao and Priolkar shows 16—Baiao I 264; II 13 18. Priolkar, *The Goa Inq.* I 179.
27. DI III 758; VI 446 717f 728-30.
28. DI VII 319. Cfr. ib. 658f. Baiao II 10.
29. DI III 758f. Wicki, 'Auszüge' n. 62. Gonçalves II 321f. Baiao II 285.
30. Priolkar, *The Print. Press* 13.
31. Baiao I 33; II 4f 20 25.
32. Lopes Mendes II 61-63. Priolkar, *The Print. Press* 207-09. *Bull. App.* I 7 71 98.
33. Priolkar, *The Goa Inq.* I 100 105. Stevenson 92f. Cfr. Kane II 530.
34. Tavernier III 199-201.
35. Manucci III 436.
36. Tavernier III 171f.

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